

NEW TIMES

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ANTARCTICA,
AN EXAMPLE
OF INTERNATIONAL
SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION

Issyk Kul.

More and more swans
come here every year.



entire area of the lake a state preserve. For more than ten years now the transportation of oil products and chemicals has been banned here, the use of pesticides on lands in the vicinity is strictly controlled and motor traffic is limited. All this is being done to preserve the unique scenic beauty of the Issyk Kul basin for posterity and for people who come to the health resorts opened in the Issyk Kul area.

In the middle of October prominent workers of culture from many countries came to the banks of the Issyk Kul at the invitation of the Kirghiz writer Chingiz Aitmatov to attend the Issyk Kul Forum which discussed the responsibility of the artist for the preservation of man's natural heritage.

TASS
photos

ISSYK KUL

This great lake of extraordinary beauty has existed on the territory of what is now Kirghizia for millions of years. Some 300,000 years ago it was the seat of an ancient culture. The fertile soil of the land around the lake and the rich pastures in the foothills of the mountains were conducive to survival, and men settled here for centuries.

Even in the coldest winters the lake does not freeze. This accounts for its name—Issyk Kul means Hot Lake. What is the explanation for this phenomenon? Situated at a height of 1,608 metres above sea level, the lake absorbs so much of the

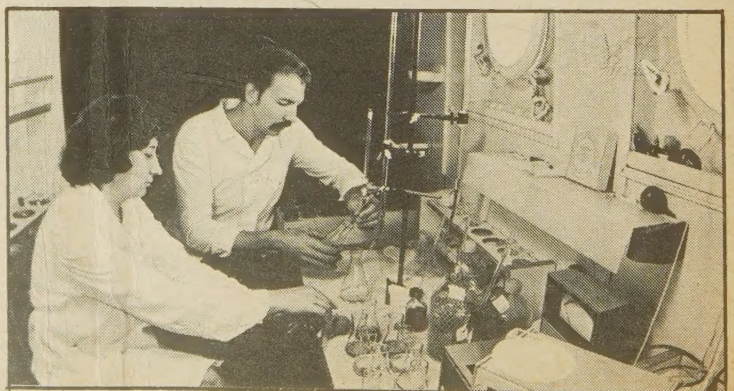
sun's heat during the summer months that no ice ever forms on its surface. Another peculiarity of the lake is that its waters are slightly salty. A vast number of rivers and streams flow into the lake, but none flow out, and beneath the lake bed there are salt marshes.

But not all the riddles of the Issyk Kul have been solved. Scientists have noticed that the level of the lake's water is diminishing at an average rate of 7 cm a year. The reasons are so far a mystery.

The hydrochemical
laboratory of the
research ship.

At the present time hydrographers and hydrometeorologists on board a special research vessel are studying the water balance of the lake.

In 1958 the government of the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic adopted a decision to declare the



PRESSURE ON SYRIA

Another independent Arab country has become a target of Washington's neoglobalist policy. President Reagan has imposed "punitive sanctions" against the Syrian Arab Republic.

The pretext was Syria's alleged complicity in international terrorism. It was on the same "grounds" that Washington perpetrated its unprovoked aggression against Libya not long ago. U.S. politicians are none too ingenious in choosing the methods to achieve their objective, which in this case is clearly the same as in the attack on Libya--to punish a sovereign Arab state for its uncompromising opposition to U.S. policy in the Middle East.

Although far from being new in form, the slanderous anti-Syrian campaign is not without features peculiar to itself. It started in Britain, following a monstrous provocation by the Israeli secret service as a result of which Syria was accused of having tried to blow up an Israeli airliner. The campaign, launched by the Thatcher government, was joined by Washington, which is drawing its West European friends into the anti-Syrian alliance.

Strictly speaking, this move against Syria has not come as a complete surprise. Since Reagan came to power, Syria has been high on the list of countries that have earned his displeasure. This is why crude pressure is being brought to bear on the sovereign Arab republic, and why it is being threatened with force.

Damascus has resolutely dismissed all the slanderous accusations levelled at it.

Individual criminals cannot be identified with whole nations and states. Terrorism at state level is being practised under the guise of "anti-terrorist action," and terrorism is being increasingly used by reactionary forces to justify their aggressive attacks on national liberation movements, and states and nations that have embarked on the path of independent development.

The campaign against Syria is also an attempt to deflect the country, which plays a prominent role in the region, from its anti-imperialist course. It is a campaign that plays straight into the hands of those opposed to a settlement in the Middle East.

The Soviet Union has warned the U.S. Administration that the new attempt to heighten tension in the Middle East is fraught with dangerous consequences. The U.S. policy of diktat is making the situation in the region explosive and poisoning the political atmosphere the world over. It is sowing mistrust, suspicion and hostility in international relations, and is detrimental to the idea of equal international cooperation.

FROM OUR MAILBAG

I am sure that all sober-minded people will agree that mankind is today faced with a dilemma that could determine the entire future of humanity: either we find some means of resolving the problems that have arisen without resorting to armed force or we will all share the fate of the now extinct dinosaurs and mammoths. Solution to this global problem does not brook delay. This is the moment of decision.

V. BUGAYEV
Cheboksary, U.S.S.R.

I presume that when he retires from the political scene Reagan, like some of his predecessors, will deplore the disastrous consequences for humanity of the arms race. But will that make things any easier for anyone! Meanwhile the U.S. President stubbornly insists on giving effect to the ideas and policies dictated by the interests of the military-industrial monopolies, totally ignoring the consequences this is fraught with.

S. UTENOV
Aktyubinsk, U.S.S.R.

In mid-October the United States and Europe celebrate the discovery of the American continent, with parades, rallies, pompous speeches and triumphant music. And no one gives any thought to those for whom this is an occasion not for rejoicing but for mourning as the most tragic event in their history. The day America was discovered marked the beginning of the enslavement of the Indians, the indigenous population of America. Surely it would be more fitting to express solidarity with those brave, proud people who are still virtually captives of the "champions of human rights."

Emanuele GAMMILLIERE
Rome, Italy

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

HOBOE
ВРЕМЯ

TEMPS
NOUVEAUX

NOWE
CZASY

TIEMPOS
NUEVOS

NEUE
ZEIT

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NUOVI

TEMPOS
NOVOS

47

December 1,
1986

Founded 1943

3

Explosion in Nevada

4

U.N. General Assembly
session

7

Report from Mongolia

8

Netherlands Premier on
the outlook for
cooperation with the
U.S.S.R.

8

Anniversary of the
revolution in Laos

12

U.S. intrigues around
Iran

14

Annexation of Micronesia

24

Militarism and the
working class

27

The magic world
of glass

31

International meet
of women in art

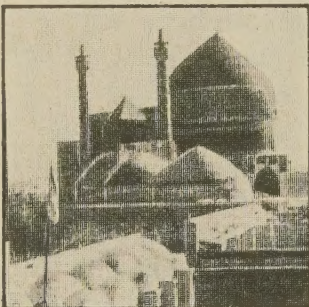
EDITOR'S PAGE (1), IN-
TERVIEWS (4, 8, 31), PA-
NORAMA (10), APPOINT-
MENTS (15), NOTES, RE-
MARKS (16), TAKING UP
A POINT (32).

Cover: Antarctic landscape.
Photo by A. Kochetkov

WHAT'S NEW ON EAST RIVER?

Vladimir Petrovsky, Soviet
Deputy Foreign Minister, on
the 41st U.N. General As-
sembly session

p. 4



ANOTHER SECRET OPERATION

The White House interferes
in the internal affairs of Iran

p. 12



MICRONESIA— A U.S. COLONY?

Washington is annexing the
Pacific trust territories

p. 14

MILITARISM AND THE WORKING CLASS

The arms race and the mil-
itarization of industry in the
capitalist countries disastrously
affect the living and work-
ing conditions of the prole-
tariat

p. 24

A STEP TOWARDS A NUCLEAR-FREE EUROPE

New Soviet initiatives for
Northern Europe

p. 6



THE LESSONS OF ANTARCTICA

Members of the Soviet expe-
dition to the Antarctic talk to
New Times readers

p. 18



THE DABURA WONDER-MEDICINE

Indian businessmen want to
cooperate with the U.S.S.R.

p. 22

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Another Countdown

The 23rd explosion since the introduction of the Soviet moratorium shakes the Nevada Desert

They creamed their faces to protect them from the sun and tried on dark glasses. Soft music sounded over the test site. Time signals issued from the control tower—ten, nine, eight, seven.... Everyone was told to lie face down on the ground. They did not yet know what the product of their searching minds was to bring the world. Three, two, one.... That was how on the morning of July 16, 1945, the atomic era dawned.

On the morning of November 14, 1986, everyone is ordered off the Nevada test site. A small group of scientists repaired to the "red shack" (the electronic control centre). Experts keep an eye on the weather: the wind must not blow towards the northwest, otherwise a chance leakage of radiation might reach Las Vegas, as was the case in 1970. Three, two, one... then the explosion. The test code-named Gascon was weapons-related, a test site official said. It had a yield of about 150 kilotons. The shock wave of such a yield causes vibrations in the high-rise buildings of Las Vegas. The authorities have shown their concern for citizenry by advising them to secure the windowpanes.

I spoke with two Americans who were in Moscow recently—Anthony Guarisco, director of the International Alliance of Atomic Veterans who participated in the atomic tests on the Bikini atoll in 1946, and Janet Gordon, chairperson of the National Committee of Radiation Victims. They have their own opinion about the authorities' "concern" for the citizenry. They remember how it all began.

Guarisco, In 1946 I was on one of the ships stationed within seven miles from the scene of the nuclear test. I was not prepared for what I saw. I was literally stunned with horror. At that moment I visualized what happened in Hiroshima and Nagasaki when the lives of tens of thousands of civilians were snuffed out in a few seconds. I was overwhelmed by a shattering sense of guilt. In the years since then I have come to see that the American government cares as little for its own people

as it did for the fate of hundreds of thousands of Japanese.

Gordon. We live not far from the Nevada test site. I want to tell you briefly about my friend Gloria. She was 12 years old when testing began 60 miles upwind from her home. In those days the tests were made in the atmosphere. School classes were sometimes kept indoors for several hours after the test, but as soon as they were allowed out the children liked to play in the fallout residue, shaking it from trees onto their heads, pretending it was snow. The citizens were always told "there is no danger." By the time she finished school, Gloria had undergone 13 major operations for

fering and death to my compatriots were not Soviet made. The Pentagon exploded them at American proving grounds for the purpose of determining the effects of the nuclear weapon on human beings. Some 42,000 Americans were involved in the tests and 68 per cent of them, according to our information, are no longer among the living.

Gordon. There have been 96 "ventings" or leaks of underground tests. The most recent "venting" occurred in April this year at the time of the Chernobyl disaster. The public is kept in ignorance about these "ventings" and information about the effects of radiation on the technical personnel is



cancer. Three years ago she died of acute leukemia at the age of 42. Of the 86 families in Gloria's small town of Bunkerville, Nevada, all but 6 had at least one registered case of cancer. My brother was only 26 when he died....

In 1955, when the Soviet Union proposed renouncing nuclear tests for military purposes, the U.S. tried to push through the U.N. the suggestion that they should be "registered." Washington's response to the present Soviet initiative to ban all nuclear explosions was an invitation to observe the American tests in Nevada.

Guarisco. The more than 200 nuclear bombs that have brought suf-

falsified. Testing is an absolutely essential key to a continuing arms race. The lives and health of American citizens do not count....

Appropriations for nuclear testing have doubled since Reagan came to the White House. New types of nuclear warheads are being developed all the time. A third-generation weapon for SDI is being tested. The Pentagon estimates that from 100 to 200 tests will be needed before it can be put on the conveyor.

... Three, two, one.... By the grace of Washington, another nuclear day has dawned for mankind.

G. SIDOROVA

The Debate at East River



The 41st session of the U.N. General Assembly is well under way. Our correspondent Andrei Arkhipov interviewed VLADIMIR PETROVSKY, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.

You have participated in the work of the current U.N. session. What would you wish to draw particular attention to?

I would say that the international community has now clearly realized the causes of the aggravation of the international situation. They say the worst mistake in identifying a cause is when the dog is buried in one place and you are digging in a completely different one. That was what often happened at the United Nations in the past. What we see today is not only growing awareness of the real causes of tension but also a realization of the need to take resolute action to prevent fast-moving developments from changing for the worst. Someone has aptly observed that it is time to act so as not to become akin to chronophaguses which, according to ancient Greek mythology, devoured their own time and therefore their lives. Far-ranging discussions have now unfolded around two problems: practical action to be taken to avert an arms race in outer space and the simultaneous abolition of the threat of nuclear war on earth.

One further characteristic of the current session is an interest in a nuclear test ban. Many people believe that a nuclear test ban is the shortest and best way to nuclear disarmament. The Soviet moratorium is a sort of test for various states. It is now perfectly clear that most countries want the United States to join the moratorium and talks on a total nuclear test ban to be started without delay.

Socialist countries have put forward a new joint initiative aimed at working out an approach to the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security to replace today's political and military confrontation in international affairs. Awareness is gaining ground that power politics is inadmissible in the nuclear age. All this can be characterized as the crux of the new philosophy. It was said at the session that there was little grace but plenty of muscle in power politics while what you see in the faces of those who pursue it is obsession bordering on stupidity. Reliance on strength should give way to international cooperation.

Perhaps the most important thing is that the countries represented at the United Nations can now compare in practice two fundamentally different concepts of the behaviour of states in the nuclear and space age. One of them proceeds from the common destiny of all countries and peoples whereas the other puts selfish interests above all else. I think the choice is being made today in favour of realism, responsibility and dialogue for a joint solution of global problems on the basis of a many-sided approach and with due regard for the interests of different countries.

The Reykjavik meeting took place when the session was in full swing. What was its impact on the proceedings of the General Assembly?

It is hardly possible to understand what is taking place at the General Assembly without the Reykjavik meeting. The very news of the meeting inspired hopes for a change for the better.

The results of Reykjavik, however, caused mixed feelings. On the one hand, there was disappointment that a rare historic chance to bring about drastic cuts in strategic offensive weapons and eventually eliminate them had been missed because of Washington's insistence on the SDI and its right to withdraw from the ABM treaty. On the other, the Reykjavik meeting made it even clearer to the world public that cardinal solutions to the problems of disarmament are not a utopia but a realistic possibility. Today the participants in the session are concerned over preserving what has been achieved in Reykjavik and outlined a package agreement.

But why is it a package?

Proposals on strategic offensive weapons, medium-range missiles and ABM defences were presented as a package because they contain not merely a balance of interests but a balance of concessions. They take into account the interdependence of the security of both sides and that is why they can only be viewed as a single whole. Each of the components of the package contains

new proposals which are closely interlinked and can be put into effect only if agreement in the other areas is reached. It is a well-structured edifice: take out a beam and it will collapse.

But the United States refused to accept the proposals as a package, so what is the point of continuing the Geneva talks on nuclear and space weapons?

There is every reason to continue the talks. The Reykjavik meeting formulated general ideas and political objectives on strategic offensive weapons and nuclear medium-range systems and the two sides achieved mutual understanding. This must be translated into the language of treaties. Moreover, the Soviet Union made far-reaching compromise proposals on ABM defences: the ABM treaty should be respected for the next 10 years, during which time research into space weapons would be confined to laboratories. It is these proposals that could be discussed and recorded in diplomatic documents.

Can you say that these talks are preparing the ground for accords?

They are doing just that. I cannot speak for the other side but we see the purpose of the talks in formalizing everything achieved in Reykjavik in diplomatic documents and searching for ways to resolve those problems on which agreement was not reached because of the U.S. stand.

But this does not affect the Soviet position that all the proposals put forward in Reykjavik constitute a package, does it?

By no means. What was put on the negotiating table as a package consists of far-reaching radical proposals, actually several steps forward as compared with the earlier proposals. But we can stand by our proposals on strategic weapons and medium-range missiles only if we are confident that no steps are being taken in other fields to upset the overall balance of interests. Regrettably, such attempts are being made.

Look at the situation with strategic offensive weapons. My colleagues have already cited documents (and U.S. State Department officials have not refuted them) which show that agreement was reached in Reykjavik to eliminate all offensive strategic weapons over the next 10 years. Now the American side is going back on its word, claiming that only ballistic missiles were discussed. The purpose of this stand is clearly to make the Soviet Union disarm unilaterally and scrap those weapons in which it has achieved an edge. At the same time they would like to leave aside those weapons (heavy bombers and cruise missiles) in which the United States has superiority.

Last year the General Assembly passed a resolution expressing the will of nations to see outer space as an arena of peaceful cooperation. Only two countries, the U.S. and Grenada, abstained. What is being said in debates today!

The question of the SDI is still acute. The world community now understands more clearly that the word "defence" in this acronym is out of place. At the current session a number of countries tabled draft resolutions intended to build on the recommendations made last year. It is symptomatic that the theme of a peaceful alternative to a space arms race is sounding ever more urgently today, along with demands to prevent the spread of the arms race to space. More and more states, not without the influence of Soviet initiatives, are calling for work on "star peace" rather than "star wars" and in this context they view favourably the Soviet proposal on multilateral cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space. Support is growing for our proposal on the establishment of a world space organization.

What is the alignment of forces on the issues of war and peace in the world community at the current session!

I think the International Year of Peace has brought to light the alignment of forces on issues of war and peace. I have the impression that a strong coalition of common sense has emerged this year. Not the ideological, political or other motives but primarily support for the positions of realism and responsibility that unites the people who belong to this coalition. The alliance of different trends and states on the grounds of a commitment to the system of common human values has become markedly pronounced during the Year of Peace. It is from these positions that the socialist countries approach tasks of truly world importance.

This approach is also characteristic of the Delhi Six, whose members refer to their steps as the initiative of five continents. The Soviet Union is prepared to accept all their proposals on preventing the militarization of outer space and a nuclear test ban, including verification. I think that only a minority opposes the priority of common human interests. It is especially clear that the United States is pursuing selfish ends in the United Nations.

One sign of this is that whenever Washington is not happy with the view of most members of the United Nations it is beginning to exert financial pressure on it. If it is not happy with the International Court of Justice—it goes back on its commitment to follow its recommendations. If it does not like what UNESCO is doing—the U.S. with-

draws from that organization. Washington also tries to lay down rules for accreditation by other states at the United Nations. Things have gone so far that these actions have been condemned by the United Nations itself. I would say the U.S. acts in a foolhardy way, following the law of the jungle rather than international law. But this is a manifestation of pre-nuclear thinking. As for thinking of the nuclear age, which is now spreading, the basic postulate is that not a single state can set itself in opposition to other states, that all of them are members of the international community in a close and interrelated world. As one Soviet novelist said, we should behave like passengers in the same spaceship—but Washington will not do so.

Our readers ask many questions about the efficiency of the United Nations in disarmament, in particular, about the status of the U.N. Disarmament Commission and the Geneva Disarmament Conference.

The United Nations produced a flexible mechanism for negotiations on disarmament at its first special session devoted to disarmament in 1978. Questions of disarmament are discussed in the First Committee at regular sessions of the General Assembly. Moreover, every spring these questions are taken up by the U.N. Disarmament Commission, which includes delegates from all U.N. member countries.

The resolutions passed by the United Nations then go to the Geneva Disarmament Conference, although it is not a U.N. agency. Its function is to draft concrete agreements on the recommendations of the General Assembly. The United Nations also keeps track of the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms. Although they are conducted independently of the U.N., the negotiating countries, in line with a relevant General Assembly resolution, receive some signals from the United Nations and keep it informed of the progress of the talks.

In short, the mechanism of disarmament talks is rather universal and the fact that it is now skidding—and this should be stated openly—is not a result of its imperfection.

The reason is different: certain countries are blocking practical results. Take the position of the U.S. and other NATO countries at the Geneva Disarmament Conference, where they have started scholastic debates over what its committees should concern themselves with. The problem is an absurdity. The mandate of the U.N. General Assembly is the adoption of recommendations, and no one has any doubts that the mandate of the U.N. committees is also the adoption of recommendations. But

in the case of the conference the West argued that its mandate is one thing while the mandate of its committees is quite another, namely, not talks but discussion. This deliberate scholasticism resembles the dispute which so amazed Gulliver: should the egg be cracked on the flat or on the pointed end? Futile, barren arguments are being used to block work on concrete agreements. The intellectual potential of the conference is very high—but instead of looking into concrete disarmament problems, top-flight experts argue for years over whether the mandate of its committees is the same as that of the conference. This is how business is being drowned in procedure.

If we take a broader view, the enemies of disarmament cannot oppose it openly today because they would look too odious in the present situation. They use the "fig leaf" of procedure not to be exposed to the international community naked, like the emperor in one of Hans Christian Andersen's fairy tales.

Can we say for all that that the International Year of Peace has seen positive change!

Undoubtedly, first and foremost as regards avenues leading to a reduction in military tension. The main achievement here is the Stockholm accord. It is exceptionally important because it has shown that military and political agreements are feasible and that we cannot have a strong fabric of international agreements unless agreements on disarmament are reached. Stockholm is a palpable achievement both from the point of view of the European process and as an impetus to the disarmament process.

One more very important achievement, I think, was the prompt elaboration of two conventions in Vienna to lay the foundations for the safe development of nuclear power engineering.

Work to draft a convention to ban and eliminate chemical weapons at the Geneva Disarmament Conference is also worthy of note. There are no debates on procedure, and good progress is being made. It is being promoted to a large extent by the Soviet Union's stand on verification and its readiness to ensure effective verification both at national and international level. Moreover, in the case of a convention on giving notice of nuclear accidents, for instance, the Soviet Union displayed a basically new approach, stated its readiness to inform the world community of nuclear accidents at military facilities and did so in practice.

In short, there are encouraging signals. The Reykjavik meeting itself is a very important element in the overall situation which inspires hopes. Reykja-

The Nuclear-Free Zone: Who Is Against

Will the north of our continent ever become a nuclear-free zone or not? The idea of making it denuclearized, put forward by Urho Kaleva Kekkonen, the late President of Finland, has been under discussion in Scandinavia for over twenty years, but no definite decision has been reached so far. In principle, however, all the states of the region want it to be nuclear-free.

For its part, the Soviet Union has always given active support to this idea and repeatedly voiced its readiness to be a guarantor of such a zone and enter into the relevant negotiations. It has now taken concrete new steps in this direction, as communicated by Yegor Ligachev on a visit to Finland as head of a CPSU delegation. To begin with, medium-range missile launching pads on the Kola Peninsula, and most of those in the rest of the Leningrad and Baltic military districts, have already been dismantled. Several divisions of operational tactical missiles have been moved out of these districts. Secondly, in pursuance of the idea of making the Baltic Sea nuclear-free, the U.S.S.R. will withdraw ballistic missile-carrying submarines from its Baltic fleet, provided, of course, the countries concerned reach agreement on this issue in the context of implementing the idea of a nuclear-free North.

Such were the Soviet Union's clear-cut answers to the question of what concrete measures it would take in its territory if the non-nuclear status of the zone were legally formalized. The measures live up to our country's promise; they are fairly substantial and take the interests of all the countries of the region into account. Now it depends largely on these countries whether the idea assumes contractual form.

The Scandinavian countries are not at one on this point, however. Some of them—NATO members Denmark, Norway and Iceland, especially—have their

reservations and doubts about the idea, and even engage in outright speculation.

Copenhagen, Oslo and Reykjavik refer to "Atlantic discipline," saying they cannot deal with the problem on their own and must consult the alliance. What such consultations come to is common knowledge: Washington and Brussels regard the idea of Northern Europe becoming nuclear-free as heresy. Using this simple ploy, progress towards the solution of the problem is deadlocked.

Another trick is to make the establishment of the nuclear-free zone conditional on progress in nuclear disarmament and on the creation of an entirely new political climate in Europe. In other words, it is implied that the nuclear-free zone is only feasible given broader military-political agreements between East and West.

There is no denying the fact that the problems of regional and continental security are interconnected. But the above approach is hardly tenable. On the contrary, the strengthening of security in any part of the continent contributes to its security overall. Sweden and Finland maintain, with good reason, that since no tangible progress has so far been made on a European scale, an extra effort must be exerted to realize the idea of a non-nuclear North. This is plain common sense.

Scandinavian Atlanticists object to this, saying that joining the zone would be a betrayal of national interests and that going non-nuclear is incompatible with NATO membership. This is a case of sharp practice. True, the alliance will have to revise its nuclear strategy as applied to Northern Europe. This does not suit its plans at all, hence its resistance to the slightest attempts to move towards establishing a non-nuclear zone.

Moreover, the U.S. has recently come

up with a new naval strategy. The American Vice Admiral Mustin, commander of NATO's strike fleet, formulates its objective with gun-barrel bluntness: to advance the forces to forward positions and, if need be, commit them to action in enemy territory, i. e., in the territory of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

As they act on the provisions of the new strategy, U.S. naval forces are ostentatiously active in the Baltic. For the first time since the war, the Pentagon sent to the Baltic, for the Baltops '85 naval exercises, a strike group of heavy warships, including battleship Iowa and the latest missile cruiser Ticonderoga, both carrying Tomahawk cruise missiles. The NATO exercises in Northern Europe continue to gain in scale, frequency and duration, with the allied troops making an active and sustained use of military bases in Scandinavian countries, which actually amounts to a deployment of foreign armed forces in the territories of the region's NATO member states in peacetime. This runs counter to the provisions of the "base policy" proclaimed by Copenhagen and Oslo when entering the alliance, under which they are to allow foreign troops the use of bases in their territories only if attacked or threatened with an attack.

Under the circumstances, the proposal on confidence-building measures in the region put forward by President Mauno Koivisto of Finland sounded most opportune. The Soviet Union supported this proposal and suggested that the intensity of major military exercises, involving upward of 25,000 servicemen, be restricted, and that such exercises be held no more than once or twice in the course of one or two years. Confidence-building measures in the naval sphere can be consolidated using the experience of the Soviet-American agreement on preventing accidents on the high seas and in the airspace above them. In the summer of 1986 the U.S.S.R. signed a similar agreement with Britain.

Much is now being said about smaller countries coming to play a more important role in world politics. Although the North European NATO member states feel bound by "bloc discipline" and "bloc thinking," they would only add to their own security and prestige by taking real steps towards a nuclear-free zone.

The Soviet Union has already taken its step in this direction.

D. POGORZHEL'SKY

vik showed that cardinal solutions to problems could be found. Hardly anything of this kind could have been imagined just a year ago. Today, proceeding from the Mikhail Gorbachev's statement of January 15, we went further and demonstrated what can be

achieved. Yet a common-sense approach is needed here.

One of the main documents to shape public opinion and the public mood at the time of the American revolution was Thomas Paine's "Common Sense." Paradoxically, as the Americans matured as

a nation and entered the nuclear and space age, they seemed to be losing that common sense.

Yet everything we have said today shows that common sense must eventually triumph in world politics.

Stars Over Khutul

Mongolia was proclaimed a People's Republic on November 26, 1924. Below our correspondent describes a visit to one of its industrial giants

The landscape was typically Mongolian with the desolate, seemingly endless steppe, already powdered with snow, merging with a cloudless and limpid blue sky, in which a cold sun shone with dazzling brilliance. We had left the large industrial city and administrative capital of Ulan Bator in the morning, and now seemed to have entered a completely different world, where a cattlebreeder's yurt or an oncoming truck was an occasional and welcome sight.

The Mongolian steppes have conditioned the people that inhabit them to an unhurried way of life.

"In fact, serenity, fortitude, and a leisurely approach to life are the distinctive features of the Mongolian national character," says historian Acad. Badzaryn Shirendev. "Generation after generation camped on this steppeland where they grazed their cattle. Often yurts could be miles apart. People were slow to think and talk. Of course, Lamaism, which inculcated passivity and resignation, also played its part. However, in the 20th century these qualities began to obstruct the nation's overall development, as for the Mongolian advance meant a struggle against his own nature, not to mention the country's centuries-old stagnation."

Khutul appeared suddenly in the middle of the steppe, rapidly rising upwards and outwards. Its cement-and-lime plant had been built from scratch. Though geologists discovered rich deposits of limestone here in 1963, the construction of an industrial enterprise on bare steppeland proved to be a no easy matter.

At any rate, today the Khutul plant can supply all of Mongolia's construction projects with the concrete they require and may even contribute to the republic's export potential. From the beginning of this year, when it was commissioned, there has been virtually no further need to import cement.

The plant was built with Soviet help. The Soviet Union trained the maintenance staff. True, hardly any workers are to be seen; the lines are almost fully

automated. Foremen go about their job with calm confidence. For a moment it crossed my mind that this might be an expression of the traditional unhurried pace of life. However, the specialists told me that the plan was being fulfilled, that the plant was achieving design capacity according to schedule and that the automatic machines set the pace.

"Our workers," plant party committee secretary Davaa Puntsag told me, "are from all over the country. Our Revolutionary Youth League declared Khutul a priority project and as four in five of the personnel are young, this makes for dynamism, flexibility and the ability to master new technology and equipment with ease. The important thing today is not to let them down. It is a bit difficult as far as housing goes, but a residential area will be made available before the year is out. We are quite determined to do without yurts, as workers at the republic's most sophisticated enterprise should be correspondingly housed."

That, however, is not easily done. Even Ulan Bator still has yurts, and not because of some sense of traditionalism or preference on the part of Mongolians for living as their forefathers lived. The problem is a consequence of rapid industrialization; people migrate to the new industrial areas, but housing, not being a priority in the national economy, lags chronically behind. The guidelines for Mongolia's economic and social development from 1986 to 1990 envisage the construction by state and cooperative agencies of upwards of a million square metres of housing, 30 per cent more than in the previous five-year period. Still, even this unprecedented spate of building will not solve the problem; only half of Mongolia's population will be comfortably housed by the year 2000.

Another matter of concern to the plant management are the insufficiently high earnings so far. "Khutul can yield more than it does now," Chozhogiin Erdenetsogt, planning chief at the ministry of construction and the building materials industry, says. "However,

an additional effort has to be made. Though in the current five-year-plan period labour productivity in construction was to increase by 25 per cent, this year we have registered only a 2.6 per cent increase, as the proportion of manual labour is still inordinately great. We are now vigorously trying to industrialize the economy. The construction of such giants as the Erdenet mining and ore-dressing complex and the Khutul plant is radically overhauling the situation. But we must not rest on our laurels."

At its congress last spring, the party set the objective of restructuring the economy by introducing modern managerial techniques and labour incentives. It is essential today to practise cost accounting, to make wages directly dependent on the quality of the end product; this does not mean increasing personnel, but having each worker perform more efficiently, which is now an urgent task. The Khutul plant has thrown into greater prominence those bottlenecks and shortcomings that stand in the way.

Though the plant is linked with the rest of the country by a railway spur, only 40 per cent of the output is freighted out by railway due to a shortage of the special wagons. The personnel chief is considering enlisting another 200 workhands when the plant achieves design capacity. "Is that worthwhile?" economists wonder. "Would it not be more profitable to organize production better so as to have fewer hands employed and pay them more?"

There is one more problem which the Khutul plant has brought into relief. As cement production is harmful, special measures have been taken to protect the employees' health and the environment. Dust catchers and electric filters are used.

Yet, until recently, the ecological aspect had seemed something that could be put off indefinitely in Mongolia. For what could rob the country of its fresh air and pure water? However, as industrialization may contaminate soil, water and air, the party noted at its congress that upsets in the ecological balance were dangerous. Today, in view of the newly initiated development of the area around Lake Khubsugul—which can be compared to Lake Baikal in Siberia—decisive measures must be taken to protect the environment there.

We returned to Ulan Bator late at night. Now, however, crisscrossed by so many roads, the steppeland no longer seemed desolate under the starry sky.

L. MLECHIN

our special correspondent

Ulan Bator—Moscow

There Is Room for Progress

Shortly before his visit to the Soviet Union RUUD LUBBERS, Prime Minister of the Netherlands, kindly granted an interview to New Times.



How do you, Mr Prime Minister, assess Soviet-Netherlands relations and what could you suggest for their development? What do you expect of your visit to the Soviet Union?

I am pleased to say that recently there has been a positive development in our mutual relations. In this respect I could mention several visits at ministerial level, contacts between members of parliament and exchange meetings in the cultural and other fields. Of course, our present visit is in itself a clear indication of the improvement in the relationship between our two countries.

Moreover, I am convinced that an increase in cultural contacts may create possibilities for a further strengthening of mutual understanding.

I also see considerable scope for an improvement of cooperation in the economic and agricultural areas. In this connection I wish to mention specially that in the course of our visit the minister of foreign affairs and myself will sign a number of documents which will form the basis for an extension of our mutual activities. I am confident that our visit will give a new impetus to all this.

As I already remarked, our relations are certainly positive, but there is, of course, room for further intensification, not in the least in the field of personal contacts.

What do you think of East-West relations as a whole and what, in your opinion, should be done for their improvement? What, from your point of view, could small European countries do to improve the political climate on our continent?

Let me start answering the first question by striking a positive note at the outset.

The overall record of encounters, visits, meetings, consultations, diplom-

atic exchanges and negotiations held last year shows that the East-West dialogue has not only been broadened but also intensified, particularly in the field of arms control, due to several important and promising proposals and initiatives advanced by both sides. As far as arms control is concerned, the first concrete agreement was reached at the Stockholm conference by efforts of the East and the West. This important example shows that it is indeed possible to conclude agreements between East and West wherever substantial progress has been made. A case in point is the radical reduction globally and total elimination of medium-range missiles in Europe, on which broad agreement was essentially reached at Reykjavik. We would thus logically assume that the final conclusion and subsequent implementation of such an agreement would now be within reach.

We firmly believe that East-West relations would be substantially improv-

ed and confidence increased if the elimination of medium-range missiles would begin forthwith. But more is needed to improve overall East-West relations. While concrete measures in the field of arms control could help to make the world a safer place, it is essential that at the same time people could genuinely enjoy other basic rights to which they are entitled under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Final Act. This year a meeting on human rights took place in Berne within the Helsinki conference framework. Humanitarian issues will also be discussed in Vienna. The Netherlands sincerely hopes that disregard and contempt for human rights will be superseded by respect for fundamental human rights, for the dignity and worth of the individual. In this respect small European countries bear the same responsibilities as the larger ones in improving the political climate on our continent. Small countries should live up to their responsibilities also in the field of arms control and use their respective means to further its cause.

In Reykjavik, the Strategic Defence Initiative became the main barrier on the way to agreements. What is the Netherlands' position on "star wars" plans?

We regret very much that Reykjavik did not lead to concrete agreements where this was obviously possible, as in the case of medium-range missiles. We find it very difficult to apprehend the reasons underlying the so-called package approach adopted by the Soviet Union at Reykjavik. We do acknowledge the fact that the positions of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. on the subject of the Strategic Defence Initiative remain apart so far. As to the con-

LAOS

Cardinal Objectives

On December 2 Laos is preparing to mark the 11th anniversary of the victory of the revolution. In this brief period tremendous changes have taken place in all areas of national life. The 4th Congress of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP), just over, reviewed the country's development in the past period. It examined the achievements and shortcomings and defined the basic tasks and the main areas of social and economic development for 1986-90 and up to the year 2000, and

the entire period of transition to socialism.

The advances made in the sphere of agriculture are of particular importance for Laos. Formerly an exclusively one-season rice economy, Laos today cultivates a variety of crops the year round. Gross farm output in the past five years increased by 42 per cent. The 3,420 cooperatives that have been established unite more than half of the peasant homesteads and cultivate 52 per cent of the rice grown. With the

cept of possible future ballistic missile defence as such, discussion will certainly continue.

One must, however, observe that the basic notion of security based on defence rather than offence is one which is deeply ingrained in all people of good will. This is the crux of the matter and cannot therefore be overlooked when new concepts of international security, which relies on defence rather than offence, emerge.

Today many observers say that after Reykjavik Western Europe made a step back from the well-known "zero option." The elimination of medium-range missiles in Europe is now linked with other problems, conventional forces in particular. At the same time the U.S.S.R. and its allies have for months been waiting for NATO's answer to their Budapest appeal for a substantial reduction in such forces. What do you think about it?

Those observers are wrong. Western Europe has neither made a step back from the "zero option," nor does it link the elimination of medium-range missiles with other problems. As to shorter-range missiles, which the Soviet Union possesses in large numbers, it has been the stated position of the West from the very beginning of negotiations that those systems would have to be constrained within the framework of an agreement on medium-range missiles.

As to conventional arms control, NATO is now broadly studying the question of how best to hold such negotiations covering the whole of Europe from the Urals to the Atlantic. These negotiations would redress the imbalance in conventional forces which continues to be in favour of the Warsaw Pact. In this context due consideration is also given to the Budapest appeal of the Warsaw Pact. The West will make its conclusions known as soon as possible.

What is your position on nuclear test banning?

The Netherlands has always been in favour of a verifiable comprehensive test ban treaty. We realize, however, that fundamental problems on this issue, notably on verification, still need to be solved. We are pleased to note that progress has been made in Reykjavik in the sense that both parties seem to be willing to discuss reductions of nuclear tests in parallel with reductions of nuclear weapons.

The Netherlands has for some time suggested such a parallelism as a viable way to make progress in this field in view of the positions of the superpowers. I am encouraged by the fact that talks between experts of your country and the U.S. will take place this month.

A comprehensive and verifiable test ban treaty, however, remains our ultimate aim.

Interviewed by V. BOIKOV,
Trud correspondent in Belgium

The Hague

EDITORS' NOTE

The editors of New Times take this opportunity to welcome Mr Lubbers to the Soviet Union and to thank him for being so kind as to grant an interview to our magazine.

The head of the Netherlands government is visiting the U.S.S.R. after the Reykjavik summit and at an interesting but difficult moment. We believe that meetings between East and West, especially at top level, can and should help find a way out of the blind alley of military, and, above all, nuclear confrontation. The U.S.S.R. sees a way out in the realization of the "package of accords" it laid on the negotiating table in Reykjavik. The connection between nuclear and space arms, the strategic weight of the U.S. Euromissiles—this is the objective basis of the package approach. Moreover, since the Reykjavik meeting it is no longer

simply a matter of one or another concrete measure, but of the reduction and subsequently the total elimination of nuclear weapons.

The logic of the Soviet position is that, in moving towards a nuclear-free world, everything that could undermine parity in the course of disarmament, the slightest possibility of acquiring a weapon of a new type that could give either side military superiority, must be excluded. Therefore the U.S.S.R. firmly declared: it is necessary not only to observe the ABM treaty but to strengthen its regime. To this end there must be no withdrawal from that treaty for at least ten years, while the thermo-nuclear stockpiles are being cleared away.

All the rhetoric about the "defensive" character of the SDI regrettably masks the obvious fact that the "star wars" programme would provide the very opening the U.S. wants in order to gain superiority. To exchange the nuclear arms race for a post-nuclear race (which is what the SDI essentially is) is not what people of good will are yearning for. Besides, why create "defence" against weapons that are being eliminated?

Let us add this: technological progress in the military sphere will not in itself ensure security. The days are gone when it was possible to strengthen one's own security at the expense of others. Today the problem can be resolved only jointly, by common efforts, and only by political means.

Sad to say, not everyone has awakened to this self-evident truth. It is painful to see some West European political circles swinging from one extreme to another over the "zero option." There are also scant grounds for allusions to imbalance in conventional arms. Incidentally, on this question too the East is ready to come to an understanding, it proposes radically cutting this type of arms—together with the West of course. Then the Europeans would be able to feel more secure, which is something they are striving for in both parts of the continent.

development of the cooperatives, new social relations have come into being in the Laotian countryside.

Laos is rich in natural resources which for centuries had lain untapped. In the past few years there has been notable progress in the development of the forestry, power industry, woodworking, food and ore-mining industries. Gross industrial output has increased 4.4 times in the past ten years.

The 4th Congress has set new major tasks. There is to be a further increase in agricultural—still the main branch—and industrial production, and the groundwork gradually laid for the future socialist industrialization.

Throughout the 11 years of its

existence the Lao People's Democratic Republic has adhered consistently and firmly to a foreign policy of peace. Side by side with Socialist Vietnam and People's Kampuchea Laos has been working for the improvement of the situation in Southeast Asia, making its own worthy contribution to the strengthening of peace and security in the Asian and Pacific region, and enlisting its participation in establishing a comprehensive system of international security.

In conformity with the decisions of the 4th LPRP Congress Laos will continue to pursue this traditional policy.

Its main concern as hitherto is the further strengthening of all-round fraternal relations with the Soviet Union, Vietnam, Kampuchea and other countries of the socialist community. Laos is dedicated to the principles of non-alignment and will act vigorously within its framework.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic is advancing confidently along the road of building a new life. The thoughts of its people are focussed today on carrying out the decisions of the 4th Congress of the LPRP.

Y. KUZMICHEV

CENTRAL AMERICA

Washington Is Playing with Fire

● ON NOVEMBER 17 THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT ISSUED A STATEMENT CONCERNING THE DANGEROUS DEVELOPMENTS IN CENTRAL AMERICA

The document points out: "Crudely violating the elementary norms of international law and the principles of the U.N. Charter, the U.S. Administration is escalating its outright intervention in Nicaragua's affairs. Moreover, Washington does not conceal the fact that its aim is to overthrow the lawful government of this sovereign independent state."

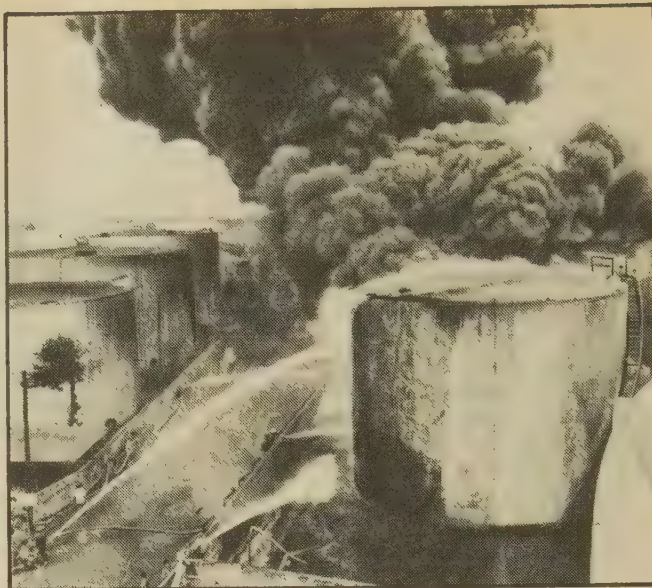
Reports about the escalation of the U.S. aggression against Nicaragua have been multiplying steadily, especially since the U.S. Congress allocated \$100 million to step up the contras' military operations and the U.S. President officially authorized the CIA to undertake direct daily supervision of these operations.

U.S. officials are not attempting to conceal that the purpose of the new anti-Nicaraguan campaign is to improve the contras' chances of toppling the Sandinists before Reagan's term ends in 1989. The possible use of U.S. troops has already been discussed and more specifically aerial bombing strikes and a naval blockade have been envisaged.

As the Soviet government noted in its statement, "official U.S. propaganda is intensively trying to influence public opinion at home and internationally to create an atmosphere conducive to the implementation of plans for direct military action against Nicaragua." But is this having any effect? It would seem not

to be, judging, for instance, from the resolutions of such international bodies as the U.N. and the OAS. In its resolution the U.N. General Assembly exhorted Washington to comply immediately with the International Court of Justice ruling demanding an end to U.S. aggression against Nicaragua. At the 16th session of the General Assembly of the Organization of American States, which ended in Guatemala on November 15, the representatives of most Latin American states denounced U.S. intervention in the internal affairs of the Central American region, as well as the Reagan Administration's support for counterrevolutionaries.

Washington hawks are also failing in their attempts to deceive the American people. Many reports from the U.S. note that the overwhelming majority of Americans condemn the Reagan team's trigger-happy policy. Washington has launched a sweeping diplomatic offensive to take the steam out of the surging protest and to isolate the Nicaraguans politically. Reports in the U.S. press already indicate that the Reagan Administration has a threefold purpose in mind. Firstly, it is trying to incite all Central American republics to break off relations with Nicaragua. Secondly, it is attempting to get the Contadora group of Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela and Panama, as well as the Contadora support group of Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Uruguay, to abandon their plan for a peaceful settlement of the conflicts in Central America which U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz so assiduously undertook at the recent OAS General Assembly. Thirdly, the White House has planned a range of measures to persuade the West European allies to back U.S. pressure against Nicaragua. It seeks more particularly to enable the contras to open missions in West European capitals, as in the view of their Washington backers this political and diplomatic decorum will give



After a contras' raid on Nicaragua.

TASS photo

the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries an aura of respectability in the eyes of the world.

Echoing shopsoiled anti-Soviet fabrications, the Washington hawks are trying to justify their interventionist policies against Nicaragua by claiming "increasing Soviet military presence" in that country. "The Soviet government categorically rejects such allegations, which are totally groundless," the statement emphasizes. "It declares with full responsibility that the U.S.S.R. has not created and is not creating any military bases whatever in Nicaragua."

The crux of the matter is not, of course, the supposed "Soviet threat" to the U.S. in Nicaragua. Imperialism is reluctant to come to terms with the political realities of the world today. Flouting the resolve of sovereign nations, it is attempting to deprive them of the right to choose their own paths of development and threatening their security. This is the underlying cause of the conflicts erupting in various parts of the world. It is not the mythical "Soviet menace," but Washington's great-power

policy that has made Central America one of the globe's most explosive flashpoints.

A. BARYSHEV

JAPAN—TAIWAN

Inconsistent Policy

● MORE THAN 5,000 PERSONS MET IN TOKYO TO PAY TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF A FOREIGN POLITICIAN "TO WHOM JAPAN IS INDEBTED FOR THE FOUNDATIONS OF ITS CURRENT PROSPERITY"

In attendance were 130 MPs, nearly all of whom represented the ruling Liberal Democratic Party. Whose services have won such praise?

The occasion was the anniversary of the birth of Chang Kaischi, leader of Taiwan's Guomindang regime, who died in 1975. The ceremony was not an official one, as according to the Hong Kong weekly, the Far Eastern Economic Review, it was a private initiative. So, to sum up, we have, on the one

hand, Tokyo officialdom's reluctance to touch upon the "Taiwan theme," especially just before Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone's Peking visit, and, on the other, a large group of MPs attending a "private" ceremony. This in fact reveals Japan's true stance, as despite the officially formulated recognition of the Peking government as China's only legitimate one, it is continuing, in effect, the old "two Chinas" policy.

It should be recalled that in late September 1972 Tokyo broke off relations with Taiwan and simultaneously restored diplomatic ties with the People's Republic of China. However, this did not mean the rupture of all links with the Guomindang regime. On the contrary, now reclassified as "unofficial contacts," they steadily grew in strength and depth.

In 1972 Japanese investments in Taiwan totalled about \$100 million. In that year the total volume of bilateral commerce ran to \$1.5 billion. In 1973 it had already reached \$2.5 billion and in 1985, \$9 billion. Meanwhile, direct investment by Japanese firms topped \$1 billion. Virtually all Japan's major companies do vigorous business in Taiwan, coming second to the U.S. as a trading partner with the island.

Taiwan's significance for Japan is not limited to economic interests alone. Tokyo ruling circles contend that Japan's national security hinges upon Taiwan maintaining its current status. Major commercial sea lanes encircle its shores. Japanese politicians regard Taiwan as part of their sphere of influence, a buffer zone between their country and mainland China.

When Chinese and Japanese leaders were negotiating the normalization of bilateral relations in Peking in 1972, Zhou Enlai made this conditional upon the following three principles: first, that the Peking government is China's sole legitimate government, second, that Taiwan is an in-

alienable part of China, and, third, that the Japanese-Taiwan peace treaty of 1952 is unlawful. The then Prime Minister of Japan, Kakuei Tanaka, categorically declined to accept the third principle. As a result, there was no mention in the joint Japanese-Chinese statement of the cessation of the state of war between Japan and the People's Republic of China inasmuch as, Tanaka asserted, this matter had been decided when the peace treaty was concluded with Taiwan. The joint statement did mention the second principle in a rather special way, however, with the Japanese merely expressing "understanding and respect" for the stance of the Chinese leadership in regarding Taiwan as an inalienable part of the P.R.C. As a result, the "problem of Taiwan" remained a tangled knot in the Japanese-Chinese relationship. On Japan's insistence, there was no mention of it in the 1978 Sino-Japanese treaty of peace and friendship either.

Official Tokyo is cautious. Reluctant to complicate relations with the P.R.C., it does not advertise its links with Taiwan.

Today two "private" organizations, the Japanese Exchange Association in Taiwan, and the Taiwan East Asian Affairs Association in Japan, discharge consular and ambassadorial functions. More specifically, the representation of the Taiwan authorities issues visas to Japanese wishing to visit the island. When the P.R.C. Foreign Ministry officially demanded that Tokyo curtail these activities, its Japanese opposite number declared that it "intends to continue with previous practice." The total number of Japanese tourist and other trips to Taiwan and of Taiwanese visits to Japan is nearly ten times greater than that of similar exchanges between Japan and the P.R.C. In 1985 the figure approached the million mark. There are 38 weekly flights between Japan and Taiwan as compared with only six between Tokyo and Peking.

In view of the considerable volume of Japanese-Taiwan deals, there is every reason to assume that there exists in Tokyo, apart from associations, an effective machinery for regulating relations with Taipei. Such machinery does indeed exist in the form of a powerful parliamentary pressure group composed of 230 LDP deputies. One Taiwanese staff member of the East Asian Affairs Association in Tokyo explained that, when settling one or another problem, he does not seek out his Japanese partner from the Exchange Association, as the parliamentary pressure group can settle any matter with government officials far more effectively and quickly.

Taiwanese representatives in Tokyo frequently call on the Japanese cabinet VIPs though not, of course, at their offices. There are reports that Taipei's current chief representative in Japan has regular meetings with Deputy Prime Minister Shin Kanemaru.

Back now to the Chang Kaischi ceremony. Who are the "private persons" who sponsored the affair? They are Nobusuke Kishi, former Japanese Prime Minister, and Hirokichi Nadao, the former Speaker of the House of Representatives and head of the council of parliamentary deputies for Japanese-Taiwanese relations, both LDP veterans who still exercise great influence in party circles.

However hard Tokyo may try to avoid explaining its strange Janus-faced "China policy" to Peking, it is not always able to do so. Before the aforementioned Tokyo ceremony, Peking tried six times to have it called off, while the P.R.C. ambassador to Tokyo lodged a protest with Japanese Foreign Minister Tadashi Kuranari. In reply there were the usual allusions to the "private character" of the ceremony.

V. OVSYANNIKOV

TUNISIA

Before and After the Elections

● NOVEMBER 2 SAW PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN THE REPUBLIC OF TUNISIA. THESE WERE THE SEVENTH ELECTIONS SINCE THE PROCLAMATION OF TUNISIAN INDEPENDENCE IN 1956, AND THEY WERE HELD AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF A COMPLEX POLITICAL SITUATION FURTHER AGGRAVATED BY ECONOMIC CRISIS

The struggle for power has become more acute in the light of the imminent prospect of Tunisia's President for life, Habib Bourguiba, now 83, leaving the political scene.

On the eve of the elections, the ruling Destour Socialist Party drafted a plan for economic recovery with emphasis laid on the development of agriculture—the pivot of the Tunisian economy. According to Rachid Sfar, who became Prime Minister in July 1986, the plan has been drawn up by Tunisian institutions without any interference or pressure from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). Some Arab papers report, however, that Tunisia has recently been sounding out these crediting organizations, along with the European Economic Community, on their preparedness to help finance Tunisia's budget for 1986-87.

The Tunisian government's preoccupation with the problems involved in stabilizing the economy was obviously indicative of its desire to bring about an atmosphere of social equilibrium and tranquillity on the eve of parliamentary elections, to win the voters' confidence. It is certainly the case that the deterioration in the economic

PANORAMA

situation had stirred up social tensions.

According to press reports, the Tunisian leadership assured the nation that all democratic principles would be respected during the elections. In fact, however, the authorities toughened their line with regard to the opposition, contrary to the principle of "political pluralism" adopted in 1981. In view of the gross violation of democracy, the opposition forces, the Tunisian Communist Party included, boycotted the elections. As a result, the victory of the Destour Socialist Party,

which won all 125 seats in the Chamber of Deputies, was only to be expected.

In the run-up to the election, the Tunisian authorities closed down a number of opposition periodicals, including the Communist newspaper *Al-Tariq al-Jadid*, for a period of six months. According to Western press reports, some leaders of the opposition parties and the Tunisian General Union of Labour were placed under preventive arrest.

Nor can the effect of external factors—such as the interests of the United States

and France, in particular—on the political situation in the country be ignored. Taking advantage of the republic's economic problems and intensifying its military cooperation with Tunisia, the U.S. seeks to get bases on its soil. True, the Tunisian authorities have repeatedly denied the likelihood of such bases ever being established as this would run counter to Tunisia's traditional policy of non-alignment. Nevertheless, U.S. military aid to Tunisia is increasing. During his latest visit to Tunisia, Richard Armitage, the U.S. Assistant Sec-

retary of Defence (International Security Affairs), said the United States would continue to give the country economic and military aid.

Tunisia is now under pressure from reactionaries both at home and abroad. At this complex juncture its future largely depends on whether all the country's national patriotic forces succeed in uniting.

E. BOBROV
our own correspondent

Algiers

BEHIND THE SCENES

Guns, the "Fifth Column" and the President

The clandestine White House operation in Iran

Attempts have been made to represent the affair, first mentioned in the Beirut magazine *Al-Shiraa*, as a private venture prompted exclusively by "humanitarian" considerations, a straightforward hostage-rescue operation with all the "inevitable" intrigue and mystery that go with such a venture. Named as "organizer" was Robert McFarlane, the currently idle former national security adviser to the President. As for the mystery, an even simpler explanation has been put forward. According to the ABC reporter, the White House had promised that when the dust settled it would come out with an honest account of things.

However, the greatest unpleasantness was the mention in the earliest reports of arms deliveries as part of the deal. As such deliveries have been banned since 1979, this meant there had been an outright violation of U.S. legislation. However, White House spokesmen did not experience any pangs of remorse. The embargo still holds good, they declared, and such deliveries are simply out of the question.

One More Version

Yet when the bare fact of deliveries of weapons and military spare parts to Iran had to be acknowledged, another story was trotted out. Those same spokesmen for the Administration now referred to a "niggardly quantity" of purely "defensive" weapons. We still do not know what these weapons are, though they are destined exclusively for use against a certain aggressor.

The purpose of the operation was likewise somewhat modified. The White House, it appears, sought to move towards stabler relations with Iran, with arms deliveries effected basically as a demonstration of good will in this dialogue. However, over the last week the affair has overstepped the bounds initially delineated.

Judging by everything, the U.S. operation in Iran was indeed initiated by Robert McFarlane, but not, however, as a private citizen, but as chief of the National Security Council, in which capacity he had officiated up to

December 1985. (He visited Teheran as a "private person" with special powers last May.) His successor John Poindexter continued what had already become a routine arrangement. Negotiations were conducted directly and through go-betweens in Western Europe, the Middle East and Iran itself.

Initially it was Israel that reportedly acted as the go-between. "The deal was done on our initiative," says an unnamed Israeli source. "We had the contacts and we approached the Americans. We said, 'Look, we have these contacts; why don't you take advantage of them? You sell us new stuff, we'll send them old stuff, that way you're not violating the embargo.'"

That looks like the beginning. However, the more the merrier. The entire network of clandestine channels by means of which weapons and military spare parts are dispatched to Iran is still a mystery. But it is evidently extensive. According to a spokesman for the Danish Seamen's Union, Danish ships alone have in recent years made at least 60 voyages running weapons to Iran from the Italian port of Talamone north of Rome. The cargoes came in unmarked crates from the neighbouring U.S. military base. (The Italian government has ordered an inquiry, inasmuch as it was not cognizant of these deliveries.) It has been learned that a large consignment of U.S. weapons for Iran is ready for loading in Spain. The latest airlift is believed to have taken place on September 12.

For almost a fortnight the White House declined to comment on the pretext of fearing for the lives of the hostages still in the hands of Lebanese extremists. Members of the cabinet were briefed to the same effect. Then on November 13 the veil of silence was lifted. President Reagan spoke on na-

tionwide television, displeased, as one news analyst put it, with the Administration's public relations fiasco. A day earlier he had for the first time notified the four Senate and House leaders of what was taking place. The substance of this two-hour-long conversation has not been revealed.

Confession

Facing the nation, the President again referred to "modest quantities" of deliveries—where arms are concerned, Washington always finds consignments exiguous—and "noble" intentions. However, eventually he had to admit officially to a far-reaching operation, which he termed a secret diplomatic initiative, and to his having personally endorsed it. He also had to admit that its purpose was by no means confined to "humanitarian" considerations. Iran's

policy sought to eliminate every Western influence in the Middle East, he said, and this the U.S. could not tolerate, inasmuch as it had "vital interests" in that area. As we see, the "humanitarian" aspect simply masked intervention, which the U.S. Administration has been justifying, for several years now, by "vital national interests."

Laying bare the mechanism behind these "interests," Newsweek commented: Iran could be the superpower of the Gulf. Its long border with the Soviet Union and its extensive coastline facing other main oil-producing countries give it unique "geopolitical status." As for weapons, the magazine added, "despite White House disclaimers, the apparent U.S. willingness to supply Iran could be interpreted as a signal that the United States is willing not only to see other nations sell arms to Iran, but also to contemplate an eventual Iranian victory" in the war with Iraq.

This is confirmed by the very character of the deliveries which included anti-tank rockets, radar systems, ground-to-air missiles and spare parts for fighter-bombers. Current figures, coming to tens of millions of dollars, represent, as far as can be judged, only the tip of the iceberg. Washington's designs are far broader—as is indicated by the New York Federal Court's prosecution under the embargo law of Israeli businessman Gurriel Eisenberg and others. The charges specify attempts to engineer sales of military technology to the sum of \$2 billion, including, among other items, 18 Phantom fighter-bombers, five C-130 military air transports, 200 ground-to-ground missiles, and 3,570 anti-tank rockets. That such a deal could have been effected without the knowledge of the U.S. Administration is hard to imagine.

Since the "diplomatic initiative" was acknowledged to be a fact, Eisenberg has asserted—we must assume with justice—that the \$2 billion deal was approved at the highest level in the Reagan Administration. His lawyer has demanded that Vice-President George Bush, Robert McFarlane and the President's current national security aide John Poindexter be subpoenaed as witnesses. Meanwhile, Tel Aviv's defence minister is claiming that Israel did not send Iran U.S. arms without Washington's sanction.

On the Old Model

Yet, everything indicates that the basic purpose of the U.S. "humanitarians" at this stage was not even to foment an armed conflict between Iran and Iraq. Rather it was outright intervention in Iran's internal affairs, a quest for a pro-American buttress amongst its political forces. This was the principal mission of Robert McFarlane during his four days in Teheran, in the course of which he was accompanied by Col. Oliver North, a member of the National Security Council staff. It was an attempt to personal-ly contact what Americans term

"moderates." As Robert McFarlane himself says, "these people... need to assure themselves against radicals that they face there." Senator Orrin Hatch of the Select Committee on Intelligence was still more candid, when he said that the "goal here is to try to bring about a more moderate group leadership in Iran."

Are these not plans for a fifth column modelled on the events of 1953, when the U.S. toppled the Mosaddegh government and crushed the anti-Shah revolution in Iran by armed force?

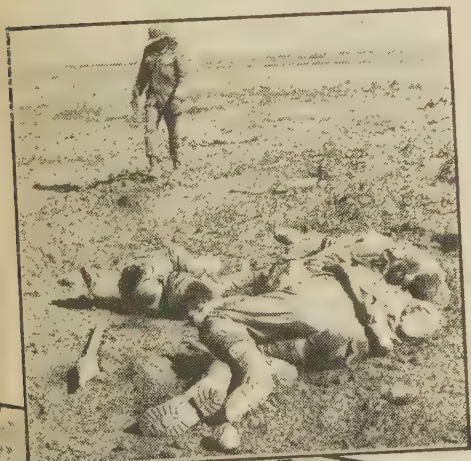
Shortly before the present developments, the Indian newspaper Patriot featured a substantial article about Washington's "geopolitical strategy" with regard to this part of the world. Noting that Iran had been lost as a base for U.S. radar stations monitoring the Soviet Union and for the Rapid Deployment Force, Patriot tried to pool the evidence which it believes indicates the desire to create a new Washington-Islamabad-Teheran axis. In this connection arms deliveries, the paper said, have an important role to play as the "longer the war [Iran-Iraq], the more bright become the prospects of achieving this objective." Here the individual elements of the American design come together. Meanwhile, as far as Israel is concerned, its purpose, according to the Washington Post, is to share influence in the region with Iran over a territory stretching from the Mediterranean to the Arabian Sea, with the Arab states remaining inactive.

The 1953 coup was masterminded by the CIA. This time the masterminds were on a much higher level, though the technique remained the same. All the threads of the "diplomatic initiative" were concentrated in the hands of White House chief of staff Donald Regan, John Poindexter, Oliver North and several other members of the National Security Council staff acting for the President. It looks as if the Council's members, to wit, the Secretary of State and the Secretary for Defence were merely notified of the idea, but not initiated into the details.

The secrecy which was directly ordered by the President has served its purpose. When on October 1 the Secretary of State again assured the Arab foreign ministers of U.S. intentions to do everything conceivable to end arms deliveries to Iran, it is possible that he was sincere. This also brings grist to the White House mill. (Rumours as to George Shultz's possible resignation may indicate how far things have gone.) The basic objective, however, was to rule out notification of the appropriate Senate and House committees, which the law charges with supervising the activities of government agencies. The latter do not include the National Security Council which is answerable only to the President.

"As in Watergate," the Washington Post observed, "the President has established an entire apparatus to do his personal bidding. The normal

FRAUDULENT POLICY...



...in Iran, Libya,
Nicaragua.

TASS photos

agencies for the promulgation and execution of foreign policy have been bypassed. Congress was kept in the dark." Of course, with regard to the scale and aims of the operation, Watergate pales by comparison.

A String of Lies

The President is already in a quandary. The Secretary of State has publicly disowned the arms deliveries deal, saying that he cannot speak on behalf of the Administration in this connection. This is most unusual. For the first time during his presidency, criticism of Ronald Reagan by both the public and ruling circles has been mounting. The congressional committees, now headed by Democrats after the recent mid-term elections, intend to demand a full account of the "secret diplomatic initiative," which has developed into the outright deception of Congress, allies and public, a CBS TV commentator stresses. Following fast on CBS's heels, the London Times says that the "Iranian fiasco" is Reagan's biggest blunder since his installation in the White House. Many, the paper adds, believe the entire operation of clandestine arms deliveries to Iran may develop into a foreign policy crisis that Reagan will be unable to survive.

The next few weeks will show which way the wind is blowing. If the current Administration is losing face it is doing so because it is bogged down in lies, and in this the Iranian affair is nothing new. Having started with the Big Lie as to alleged Soviet arms supplies to Nicaragua, the Reagan Administration has made deception, as the same John Poindexter puts it, a legitimate vehicle of foreign policy. More recent instances have been too numerous for this to pass unnoticed. They include clandestine arms deliveries to the contras in circumvention of the juridical restrictions imposed by Congress in 1984, which have just been proved in a Nicaraguan court of justice, the misinformation campaign against Libya aimed at destabilizing the situation there, the attempts to distort the proceedings and results of the Reykjavik talks, and the unscrupulous efforts to subvert the ABM and SALT-2 treaties.

If lies and misinformation are a vehicle of foreign policy, there can be no question about the substance of such a policy, for it is one that shuns the light of day and is inimical to people the world over, including the citizens of the U.S.

Yuri GUDKOV

MICRONESIA

It is generally believed that the epoch of colonialism is a thing of the past. Unfortunately, some developments in our time suggest the opposite. The U.N. trust territory of the Pacific Islands, otherwise known as Micronesia, has become the object of colonial expansion on the part of Washington.

A Target of U.S. Expansion

How did this happen? A brief excursion into recent history is in order.

In 1947 the U.N. Security Council gave the United States a mandate for the temporary administration of this island territory. However, instead of fulfilling its obligation to help the population acquire an independent political and economic status, Washington set out to perpetuate its control over Micronesia. Established there was what U.S. Senator Gary Hart described as "a military colony of the United States."

The trust territory of the Pacific Islands is situated north of the Equator in the western part of the Pacific. It includes three archipelagoes—the Mariana, Marshall and Caroline islands—and has a population of 136,000. The total area of the 2,000-odd islands and atolls is no more than 1,854 square kilometres, but the waters adjoining them add up to 7.8 million square kilometres.

From the very outset the Americans

regarded the islands and atolls primarily as a convenient proving ground for testing nuclear and other weapons and as a convenient base of operations for the Pentagon in the Pacific. The Washington "administrators" were least of all concerned with the fate of the islanders, who were driven from their native atolls in order to remove all impediments to nuclear explosions. To use the vast lagoon of the Kwajalein atoll as a target for ICBMs, the local inhabitants were forcibly moved to other atolls ill-adapted for habitation, and on the proving ground thus vacated hundreds of intercontinental missiles launched from the Vandenberg air base in California, as well as from submarines, the MX, Minuteman and Trident strategic systems were tested.

This was done despite the fact that, as the administering authority, the U.S. was in duty bound, according to Article 84 of the U.N. Charter, "to ensure that the trust territory shall play its part



in the maintenance of international peace and security."

It is not surprising that the decolonization process under way in the world was seen by the U.S. as a threat to its control over Micronesia. Unwilling even to consider the granting of independence to the trust territory, Washington proceeded to dismember it and swallow it piecemeal. The first victim were the Northern Marianas. In 1975 the U.S. signed with this territory a "covenant to establish a commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands in political union with the United States," under which all matters relating to defence (including the right to use the islands for military purposes over a period of 50 years), as well as foreign relations came under U.S. jurisdiction, while the islands were granted "local self-government."

The rest of the trust territory, under Washington pressure, was divided into three parts. In 1980 a personal envoy of the U.S. President, on the one hand, and representatives of the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), the Marshall and the Palau islands, on the other, initialled, and in 1982 signed, a general agreement for all three island groups, providing for "free association" with the United States after the expiry of the U.N. trusteeship. Under this agreement, the Micronesian groups were promised "internal self-government," with the United States "assuming all the powers and responsibility for their security and defence." What this "free association" status amounted to was bluntly defined by Edward J. Derwinski, a State Department counsellor, who said at a House Foreign Affairs Committee hearing that "by virtue of the plenary U.S. authority for defence and security matters [the freely associated states] would not possess attributes of statehood sufficient for admission to the U.N."

By diverse manipulations Washington succeeded in obtaining approval of the agreement at referendums it staged on the FSM and the Marshall Islands. The population of Palau rejected the agreement; the section granting the U.S. the right to test and stockpile in Micronesia nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons and radioactive and toxic chemical and biological agents, or to dispose of such materials there runs counter to the Palau Constitution. The U.S. demanded that the Constitution be amended, but the islanders refused to submit to the pressure.

Washington has appointed another referendum on the Palau Islands to be held on December 2. Meanwhile the White House is in a hurry to carry out its stratagem and to confront the world community with a fait accompli—annexation. On October 23 the U.S. "notified" the U.N. Secretary-General of

the entry into force of the compact of free association with the Marshall Islands as of October 21 and with the FSM as of November 3, 1986, as well as of the commonwealth covenant with the Northern Mariana Islands. On November 3 the White House issued a special presidential proclamation unilaterally announcing the expiry of the trusteeship of the three island territories, inasmuch as the United States had supposedly "discharged its duties" under the trusteeship agreement.

As regards the fate of the Palau Islands, the U.S. colonialists graciously promised to "inform" the United Nations Organization of the results of the referendum, conducted by the usual arm-twisting methods.

Washington's striving to annex the U.N. trust territory and deprive the Micronesians of independence for all time is a gross violation of the principles and provisions of the U.N. Charter and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples. The U.S. un-

lawful decision, formalized essentially by its own internal legislative acts, was designed to induce the United Nations to bypass the Security Council. However, Article 83 of the United Nations Charter explicitly states that any change in the status of a strategic trust territory, which Micronesia is by virtue of a relevant agreement between the Security Council and the United States, can be effected only by the Security Council. Consequently, it is the duty of the U.N. and the obligation of its member states not to allow the United States to seize a U.N. trust territory and turn it into a military-strategic springboard for the Pentagon, as this is fraught with danger not only for the Micronesians but for other peoples of the Asian and Pacific region. This is the position of the Soviet government set forth in the TASS statement of November 12, 1986.

Washington has evidently forgotten that any attempt to revive colonial empires in the 20th century is doomed to failure.

O. KUROCHKIN

APPOINTMENTS



Leonid Mikhailovich KOMOGOROV

Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to Mauritania

Leonid Komogorov, a Russian, was born in Moscow on July 28, 1927. Upon graduating from the Moscow State Institute of Economics in 1954, he worked at the Ministry of the Timber Industry and at the Timber and Paper Supply and Marketing Administration under the U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee. In 1967 he graduated from the Higher Diplomatic School of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the

U.S.S.R. He has been a member of the CPSU since 1958.

Leonid Komogorov embarked on a diplomatic career in 1967. From 1967 to 1976 he held a number of diplomatic posts at the U.S.S.R. Foreign Ministry's headquarters and abroad. From 1976 to 1979 he was a counsellor at the Soviet Embassy in Cameroon; from 1979 to 1984, counsellor and expert in the second African department of the U.S.S.R. Foreign Ministry, and department chief of a board of the U.S.S.R. Foreign Ministry. From 1984 to 1986, Leonid Komogorov was Consul General of the U.S.S.R. in Oran, Algeria.

Leonid Komogorov has been awarded government decorations.



Vladimir Fyodorovich SOBCHENKO

Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to Tunisia

Vladimir Sobchenko, a Ukrainian, was born in the town of Belaya Tserkov, Kiev Region, Ukrainian S.S.R., on June 13, 1930. He graduated from the Belaya Tserkov Agricultural Institute in 1954 and took up full-time Party work in 1955. In 1971 he was elected secretary of the Vinnitsa Regional Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and in 1973, second secretary. In 1980 Vladimir Sobchenko graduated

from the Diplomatic Academy of the U.S.S.R. Foreign Ministry. He has been a member of the CPSU since 1953.

From 1980 to 1986, Vladimir Sobchenko was Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

A delegate to the 25th, 26th and 27th CPSU congresses, Vladimir Sobchenko was elected to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R. (1975-80).

Vladimir Sobchenko has been awarded the Order of the October Revolution, the Order of Friendship of the Peoples, the Badge of Honour order, and a medal.

NOTES • REMARKS

● NAMES AND FACTS

A THIRD TERM FOR REAGAN?

Should there be a question mark in the title? Can the present U.S. President remain in the White House for another four-year term? Project 88 set up by U.S. right-wingers says he can.

To make this possible the House of Representatives and Senate would have to rescind the 22nd amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which limits the presidency to two terms only. Then this decision would have to be ratified by two thirds of the states. By an irony of

fate, the Republicans of the 1980s wish to avoid the pitfall dug by the Republicans of the 1950s. Alarmed by the policy of alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union pursued by President Franklin D. Roosevelt (the only chief executive in U.S. history to be elected for four terms) the Republican right pushed the 22nd amendment through. And now it may thwart the "star wars" ambitions of their political successors.

The fathers of Project 88 swear that their motives are honourable: they wish to remove the obstacles to the free expression of the American voters' will. But these noble motives are feigned. This is obvious

from the name of the project. Eighty-eight stands for the coming presidential election year. Any nominee other than Ronald Reagan would be able to seek a third-term nomination only in 1996.

Max Hugel, ex-deputy director of the CIA and Project 88 supervisor, has privately admitted that the purpose is to drum up public support for Ronald Reagan and his programme and not for any likely presidential successor. A short while ago Reagan himself launched a ballon d'essai at a Republican rally in Texas. He said: "I started asking myself, 'I wonder how the folks down there would feel about giving it one more try?'" After thunderous applause he added: "I'm kidding, of course."

Those aware of the President's support for Hugel's group and of the dissatisfaction Reaganites openly express at the "weakness" of potential Republican nominees realize that the grain of truth in this joke is rather large.

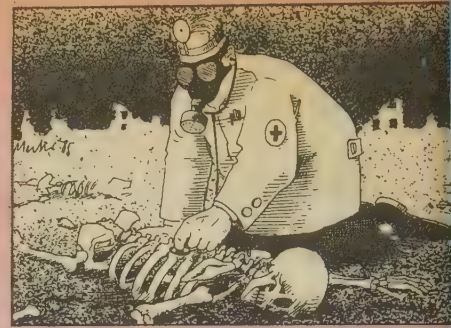
Congressman Vander Jagt, another sponsor of Project 88, is delighted: "People are so happy. They can't think of an America without Ronald Reagan."

And what do the Americans really think? Newsweek has found out. An opinion poll has shown that 62 per cent said they did not want Ronald Reagan reelected for a third term.

● EXPOSE

OPERATION MOSES

The enticement to Israel of more than 10,000 fal-



First aid after nuclear war.

From Deutsches Allge-
meines Sonntagsblatt (2)

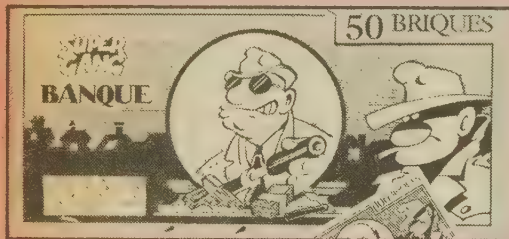
ashas, Ethiopians practising Judaism, undertaken without the knowledge and consent of the Ethiopian authorities, was engineered by Israel with the acquiescence of Nimeiri, the then Sudanese president, and subsidized by Washington. The drought-afflicted falashas were lured into Sudan and airlifted via Brussels to Israel, to "enjoy" the "milk and honey" of the "Promised Land."

The more than eighteen months that have elapsed since then have shown how cruelly they were deceived. Their first disappointment was being told they would have to settle in occupied Arab territory. Instead of being allowed to practise communal living and preserve their traditional customs and way of life, they were distributed among camps officially termed "integration centres." When they arrived at Ashkelon camp, all the Jewish settlers moved out, evidently reluctant to have dark-skinned coreligionists for neighbours. Contending that the falashas were not "kosher," the authorities sought to re-Judaize them, but had to abandon the plan for fear of a revolt.

In Ashkelon itself, the falashas were housed not in cottages, but in caravan trailers of the tourist type. In an attempt at integration, several hundred were forcibly relocated in forti-

fied militarized camps, and against their will thick of the conflict. Appeared resettled were of real motive under whole Operation was thus revealed desire to use the to colonize occupied territory.

Generally Jeune Afrique the falashas are second-rate citizens of Israel, and they are not attempting to conceal the numerous



GRINDING TO DUST

Talking dolls are no longer in vogue, and even the celebrated "Monopoly" is old hat. The latest generation of board games for children in the West includes, for instance, the French "Supergang" (see picture above), where players act out the parts of murderer, drug pusher, prostitute, and other underworld characters. Or take the American game in which players "deduce" the killer, the murder weapon, and the scene of the crime. There are also "military strategy" games, enabling children to "hone up" the strategy and tactics of "star wars," nuclear conflicts, and punitive operations.

As the Tribune observes, the weapons are becoming increasingly realistic and powerful, and the players more bloodthirsty. They are no longer content with "defeating" the enemy, but seek to pulverize him by using nuclear weapons. At times games like "Transformers" are supplemented with an appeal to grind the enemy to dust.



This quarter film Idol Ram remains of at this absurd p it out. Ramb this "toy" if th



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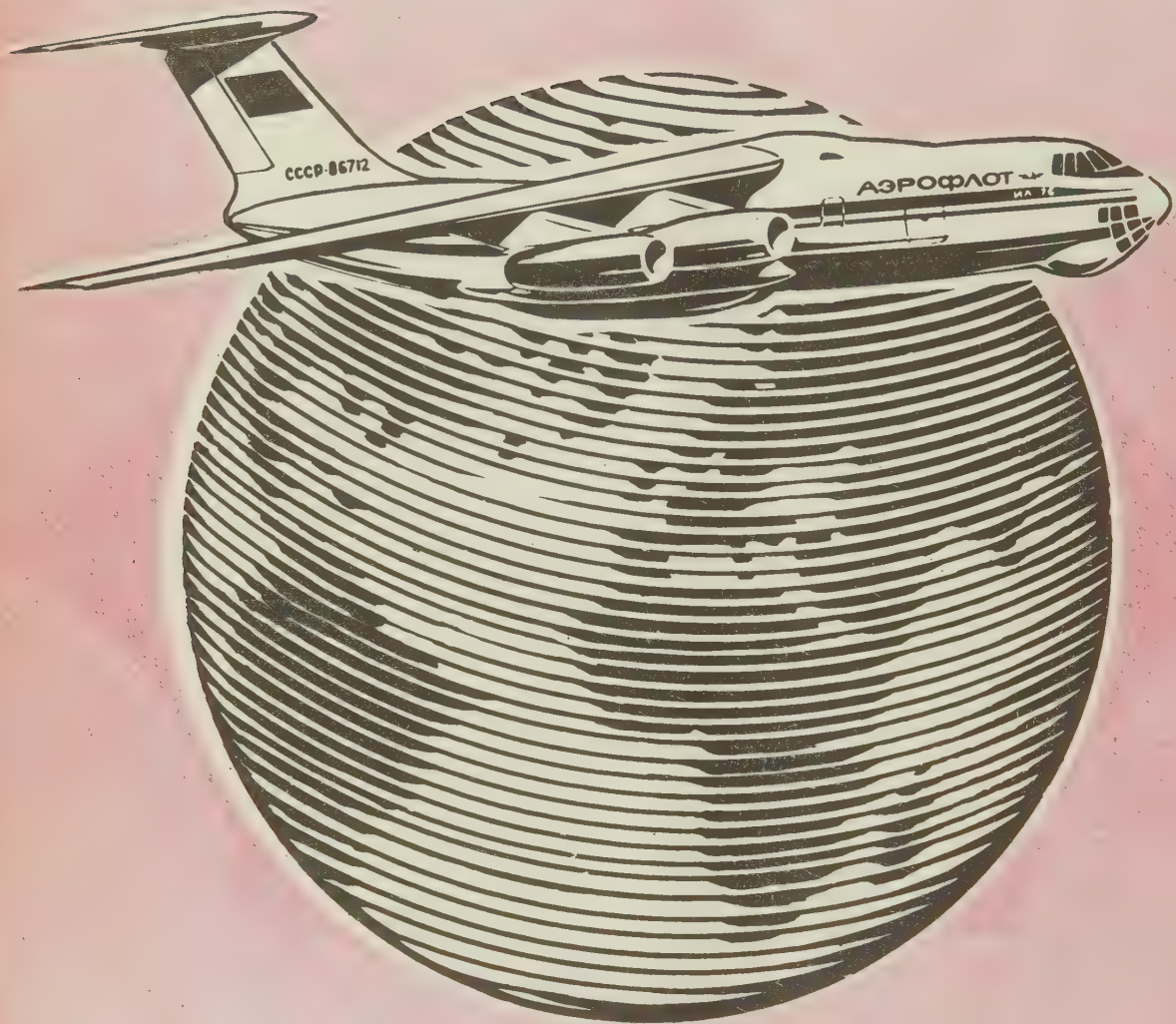
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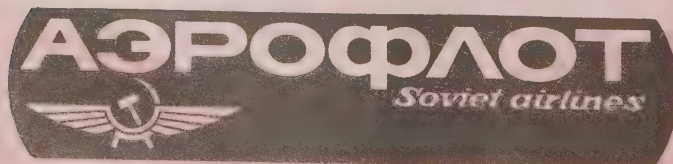
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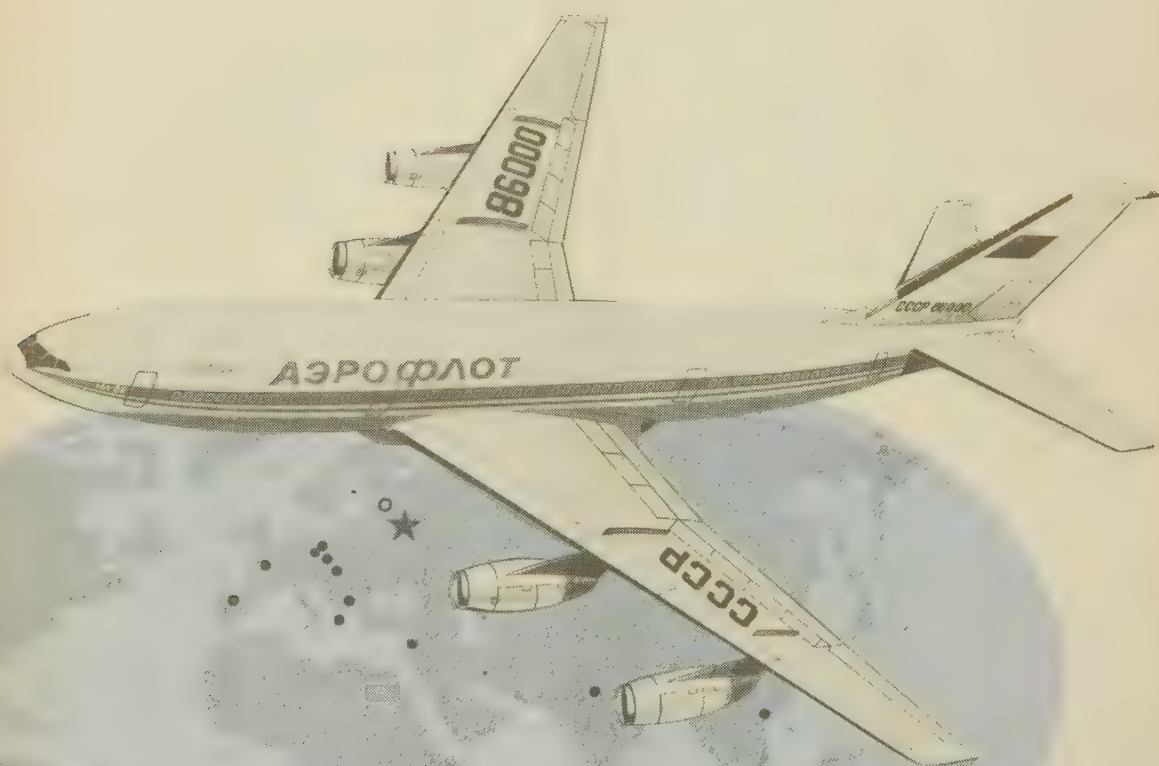
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АЭРОФЛОТ

caused among them by their so-called "repatriation."

● HUMAN RIGHTS

BARRIERS AND BARS

When they decided to join a black club the four Watson brothers, well-known South African rugby players, were "excommunicated" for life from the union of white rugby players; friends and former teammates looked the other way, and white customers boycotted their clothing shops.

But when black Africans boycotted all white shopkeepers, the only exception they made was the Watsons. Further threats were made and carried out on the Saturday night of October 19. Leaving Port Elizabeth for the weekend, the Watsons asked two black clerks, Archie Mkele and Geoffrey Nocanda, to take care of their home. Hardly had the two entered the empty house than masked men broke in and beat them

up, stopping only when they had lost consciousness. They came to in terrible pain; their clothes had been set alight. Clambering out from under the wreckage, they managed to reach a hospital, but were denied admittance as it was exclusively for whites. Although they had extensive burns, the ambulance took them to a police station.

"I was lying there in agony, not knowing what to do," Mkele wrote later in a note smuggled out of his place of confinement. "The police left the ambulance open... started interrogating us... Remember, I had third-degree burns over half my body."

Nevertheless, Mkele and Nocanda had to be hospitalized in an infirmary for blacks, of course. After three months of treatment they were put behind bars, where they remain as key witnesses in the case of arson and fraud with which the Watsons [sic] have been charged. The police have the twofold objective of concealing the true criminals and representing the brothers as the cul-

prits, claiming that they blasted their own house to get the insurance. Three of the brothers are already in jail awaiting trial, while the fourth is at liberty. This is also part of the plan, as by South African law potential witnesses can be confined until the trial of the person at liberty begins.

Meanwhile Mkele and Nocanda, or rather their evidence, are desperately wanted by the "law enforcers," who will beat them up to get their testimony despite their terrible physical condition.

Beating up blacks as a lesson for whites will help bring down racial barriers—or will it not?

● HEALTH

ANTI-CANCER GENE

A team of Massachusetts scientists claim to have identified for the first time a human gene that prevents the formation and growth of cancer cells. The action of the newly identified gene is the reverse of that of the roughly 30 known oncogenes, violation of whose normal functioning causes malignant tumours. Hereditary cancer could be explained by the absence of anti-oncogenes.

The newly identified gene prevents a rather rare cancer, retinoblastoma—tumour of the eye.

If the discovery is confirmed, it may be possible to synthesize protein on the "blueprint" of the anti-oncogene and replace the missing anti-cancer gene.

POPULARITY RATINGS

According to an IPSOS public opinion poll in France, the popularity of both the President and the Prime Minister have been slipping, although the President's rating is still the higher of the two. Forty-six per cent of those interviewed are pleased with Mitterrand, while 35 per cent are not. On the other hand, only 31 per cent are pleased with Chirac, while 41 per cent disapprove of his policies.

EXODUS

By the year 2000, as many as 900,000 Israelis will be expatriates, Nissan Hormuz, deputy chairman of the special national anti-emigration council, noted in a Radio Israel interview. Some 325,000 citizens have emigrated in the past 18 months alone.

THE "OPIUM" PERFUME

The Swiss Federal Court has revoked the four-year-long ban on sales of Yves Saint Laurent's perfume, "Opium," dismissing arguments that drug addicts may mistake it for the real thing.

THE GURU'S NEW SECRETARY

Guru Bhagwan Shri Rajnish, deported from the U.S. for violating the immigration law, is again attracting a "congregation." To replace the dissolved community in Oregon, the U.S., he plans to establish a "world centre" in Western Europe. This was revealed by his new secretary, who replaced the old one currently serving a prison term for attempting to poison her boss's personal physician.

AIDS CASES EXPULSED

Authorities in the United Arab Emirates have deported a group of foreigners as carriers of the AIDS virus. According to the Emirates News Agency, 70 such cases have been identified. The Health Ministry has decided that all foreigners seeking to enter the country must submit to an AIDS test.



WHERE THE BULLETS FLY

Every Sunday in deserted spots in Arizona where, aping pump bullets from rifles and submachine guns into the air. Why? Gun merchant Craig Norman, who suggested nobody will buy a submachine gun unless he can try to kill Aiken adds that he will now know how to handle the bullets.

Photo from Stern (F.R.G.)



Antarctica is an arena of active international cooperation. All matters are decided there by mutual consent, in the spirit of understanding and good-neighbourliness

The Example of Antarctica

New Times has held a round-table discussion on various aspects of life on the white continent. Vladimir Bardin, Igor Zotikov and Mark Dyurgerov, well-known polar explorers who have been members of several expeditions to Antarctica, took part in it.

A Unique Document

New Times: The famous explorer James Cook said that if a continent existed in the South, its climate would be very severe, and its discovery would be unlikely to benefit humanity. Though it is some time since the 150th anniversary of the discovery of Antarctica by the Russians Faddei Bellingshausen and Mikhail Lazarev, the continent has not benefited mankind in the sense in which Cook used the word. Does this mean that his prophesy has proved true?

Dyurgerov: First, a brief excursus into the past. Late in the 18th century seal hunters and whalers found their way into Antarctic waters. They had soon practically exterminated fur seals, and taken a heavy toll of penguin and whale populations. At about the same time Borchgrevink, Shackleton, Scott, Amundsen and Mawson organized expeditions to the South Pole. Selfish ends and the lust for gain vied with self-denial and selflessness. Though vast fields of pack ice and huge icebergs proved insurmountable for the profit seekers, they failed to hold back disinterested explorers.

What do we know about Antarctica? A lot. It covers an area of roughly 14 million sq. km. Some 80 per cent of the Earth's freshwater reserves are concentrated in it in the form of an ice cap two kilometres thick. This ice moves from the central highlands towards the ocean to break off as icebergs. Over the continent there is a permanent area of high pressure, an anticyclone that governs weather conditions far beyond the bounds of the Southern Hemisphere. A circumpolar current flows around the continent. It is the most powerful current in the World Ocean.

Bardin: In Antarctica there are no

national frontiers. Its laws rule out all antagonism. All disputes are settled there by peaceful means. Life and work there have conditioned an order which has been recorded in a treaty and approved by the leaders of the states that are signatory to it.

New Times: Are you referring to the Antarctic Treaty which came into force 25 years ago? As far as I remember, one of its articles states: "Antarctica shall be used for peaceful purposes only."

Zotikov: The Antarctic Treaty is a remarkable and so far unique diplomatic document. Drafted in Washington at the end of 1959 by the 12 states that had stations on the continent, it came into force 18 months later to transform an area that had been divided into sectors over which polar explorers squabbled. The treaty banned the holding of military manoeuvres in Antarctica, the construction of military bases and fortifications and the testing of all types of arms. It formed a sound basis for the establishment and strengthening of

friendly contacts characterized by a spirit of cooperation and mutual assistance between explorers from various countries. Many of its clauses later exercised a powerful influence on a whole range of vital international agreements. It was the first document to record the idea of banning all nuclear explosions and radioactive waste disposal. Diplomats believe that the treaty served as a prototype for many other documents. An article of the treaty on free access for observation and inspection became the first of its kind in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States as contracting parties. This article might have suggested the idea of on-site nuclear inspection.

Another clause in the Antarctic Treaty, and one that has had a major effect on my own life, deals with the possibility of participating in national expeditions conducted by other countries. This clause enabled me to live for more than a year at a U.S. station, and work with New Zealanders and explorers from other countries.

Bardin: Of course, this is a unique document. As I see it, it is not the treaty itself that is most important. When I first went to Antarctica I was only 21. The idea of signing a treaty was only vaguely taking shape. However, even

One often sees the flags of the U.S., New Zealand and the Soviet Union together in the Antarctic, as with this international expedition in Victoria Land.



then there were cases of mutual assistance and fruitful cooperation. Prompted by the severe conditions of life in polar regions and the extreme circumstances, people were always eager to help each other. It is extremely difficult to live in such conditions without mutual aid. Of course, the treaty has played a useful role, but in many cases the conditions of work were the decisive factor. The document prevented the development of the adverse trends that had then begun to be felt in Antarctica.

Of Value to All Mankind

New Times: Today there is a lot of talk about the depletion of the planet's irrecoverable resources, such as petroleum, gas and coal. Could not Antarctica help solve the problem of raw materials?

Dyurgerov: Take a look at the map of South America. You can see that the Cordilleras are, like a backbone, passing through the entire continent to reach Tierra del Fuego and leap onto Antarctica. Africa's main geological structures also extend to its southern neighbour. Even without any further prospecting, it can be said that what has been found in the southern parts of these two continents will also be discovered under the Antarctic ice cap.

Bardin: Antarctica is a continent of the type of Gondwanaland. It once formed a single whole with Africa, Australia and South America—a super-continent which became divided in the Mesozoic era.

Dyurgerov: That is so. But when it was realized that Antarctica was a continent of vast and varied natural wealth, it was necessary to establish who would exploit it and how. There was also a need for an international mechanism to restrain overeager "prospectors." Though there is no such mechanism, it has been shaped in practice by a comprehensive system of rigid rules governing environmental protection on the continent.

Zotikov: To protect the Antarctic environment numerous conventions have been produced, in particular, one on the conservation of Antarctic marine living resources signed in 1980. Its purpose is to preserve the continent's unique ecological system. The Antarctic Treaty imposes a strict ban on any unplanned and random development of the continent's natural wealth. Last June I attended a regular meeting of the Scientific Committee on Antarctic research in San Diego, U.S.A. We witnessed what could be described as a real fight between a group of biologists, who had worked out a set of regulations governing the attitude of research station staffs towards the

environment, and a group of logistics personnel—suppliers and caterers. When the logistics personnel studied the new draft regulations, they started grouching because the document ruled that every used can and crate should not only be collected and counted, but also taken away.

Bardin: The ecology of Antarctica is not only unique but also extremely vulnerable. We have already mentioned the fate of penguins and whales. The area around many of the research stations is barren, because the scanty vegetation has been trampled down and polluted with piles of refuse. However, people have become aware, before it is too late, that the losses could be irreparable. That is why many sectors in Antarctica, including weathered rocks, have been declared reserves.

New Times: Let us imagine that someone takes the trouble to tow an iceberg, say, to Saudi Arabia which, we know, is short of water, and sell it there. Will there be any complaints about taking an iceberg that is everyone's property?

Dyurgerov: That is unlikely because every year thousands of icebergs break away from the ice cap. So why should not a fraction of them benefit people? Such projects have been put forward. This is not really the point. There are national natural resources, such as coal, timber and gold, and also those that belong to the whole of mankind, namely the air, water and climate. In a sense Antarctica is a resource that belongs to the whole of mankind. We like to breathe pure air and drink pure water. Perhaps the resources on Antarctica's surface, and not those geologists are prospecting for in its bowels, are mankind's most valuable asset. I mean water. Perhaps, nature has been very wise to keep this most vital source of life beyond the people's immediate reach. We have only just started to realize the limited character of the resources we have been consuming so avidly and carelessly, and to value what is actually lying under our feet.

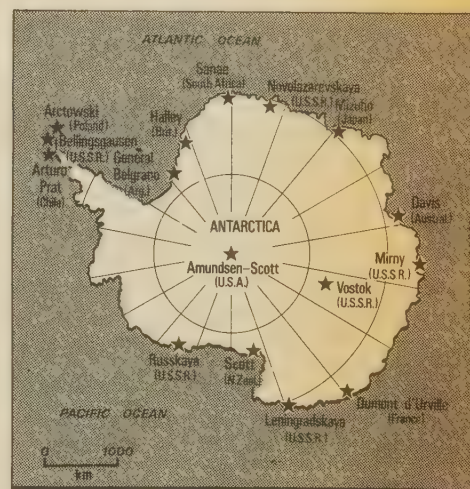
But Antarctica is not a Christmas turkey that is being fattened before being served at mankind's table. It has been working for humanity for a long time, freshening and cooling the World Ocean with icebergs, actuating powerful currents in its waters and regulating weather on the planet. Antarctica is of value to the whole of mankind.

Bardin: To divide Antarctica would be tantamount to sharing an invaluable vessel among many people. Everybody will then have a piece of it, but the vessel will disappear.

New Times: Does this mean that the question: "To whom does Antarctica belong?" is not valid?

Dyurgerov: It would seem so. I believe it does not belong to anybody. However, it would not be correct to say that it belongs to everybody, that it is common property. The Antarctic Treaty is indeed open to all, though with one reservation. It is open to those who set up stations and carry out substantial research on the continent.

Zotikov: Since the treaty was signed by the twelve founding countries 25 years ago, only six more states have joined it. At the above-mentioned San Diego meeting we admitted the 18th signatory—the People's Re-



public of China, which has opened a Great Wall polar research station in Antarctica.

Lessons of Antarctica

New Times: When they asked Sir John Hunt, who was one of the first to lead a successful expedition to conquer Mount Everest, why he ascended mountains, he replied because they're there. Man is made that way, and defies every challenge to search, explore and conquer the physical environment.

Zotikov: It is in man's nature to strive to know the world. Fernando Magellan, Vasco da Gama, La Pérouse and Willem Barents left their homes to satisfy their natural curiosity as explorers rather than to win glory for their rulers. To know that Antarctica exists and to refrain from exploring it would be inconceivable.

Dyurgerov: Antarctica is characterized by an extremely harsh climate. Explorers have to work in what are known as extreme conditions. Regrettably, fires, frostbiting and falls into crevices are common occurrences. People must concentrate their will power and attention to the limit and display the utmost organization and discipline.

Bardin: And a sense of responsibility too. Only a few months ago huge



The earth's southern geomagnetic pole, 15,621 km from Moscow.

slabs of ice broke off the Filchner shelf glacier. As a result, the Druzhnaya-1 Base found itself afloat on an iceberg. Today a rather large settlement (in terms of Antarctic expeditions), in which up to 170 people work during the summer months, is now adrift. Many were taken unawares. All they can do is refer to one more surprise Antarctica has sprung on them. We have become accustomed to blaming Antarctica and its perfidious nature for the unexpected situations we are confronted with. Sometimes this is really so. But we should not forget that we did not arrive there yesterday, that we have been working on the continent for over 30 years without interruption. We have accumulated a wealth of knowledge about it. And it is up to us to make proper use of it. We frequently admire polar explorers for their heroism, though we often forget that they sometimes have to cope with emergencies that could have been avoided. Some extreme situations would not have developed had the executives displayed proper foresight to prevent an undesirable course of events. As I see it, we should concentrate not so much on the surprises Antarctica has in store for us, but rather on the lessons it has taught us, namely, the lessons to be learnt from the Druzhnaya-1, from the Mikhail Somov drift and from some of the dramatic winter experiences.

Zotikov: You could not have made this point more aptly. Over the last quarter-century the climate on the continent has not got any milder. Nor have conditions become easier for work or less hazardous to life. I believe these conditions have made polar explorers more aware of the need for mutual aid and fellowship. There was a case when Soviet explorers rushed to the rescue of a Japanese icebreaker crew in distress. In another instance, American polar explorers were ready to give their blood to save the lives of five Soviet colleagues they did not even know. An American pilot remained at the controls for more than 24 hours to deliver them to New Zea-

land. When reporters asked him there why he had done so he simply said that the Russians would have acted just as he did.

Dyurgerov: Antarctica not only makes tremendous demands on man, but also rewards him in the way we have just mentioned. It has, above all, taught teams made up of people of different political views, faiths, languages and nationalities the art of co-operation.

The Spirit of Cooperation and Good-Neighbourliness

New Times: Let us return to the Antarctic Treaty and its marvellous spirit of good-neighbourliness and mutual aid that has conquered all sorts of antagonisms on that huge and severe continent.

Dyurgerov: The Soviet Bellingsgausen station on King George Island is separated by a distance of only 200 metres and a stream from the Chilean station. We had tea with our Chilean colleagues and shared our food and equipment with them. Then the junta took over in their country. This barely affected relations between the polar explorers of the two nations. You cannot tell a Soviet doctor not to treat Chilean patients. Regardless of the winds of foreign policy in the rest of the world, the icebound continent continued to pursue a policy of its own.

What is striking in Antarctica is readiness to lend assistance in case of need. Last spring we had to carry out several drilling operations in a very short time. We were disastrously behind schedule and asked our West German colleagues to lend us their portable drilling rig. In a few days this costly equipment was delivered without a single paper or receipt. Practically all

relations in Antarctica are based on this principle. There is no room for bureaucracy there.

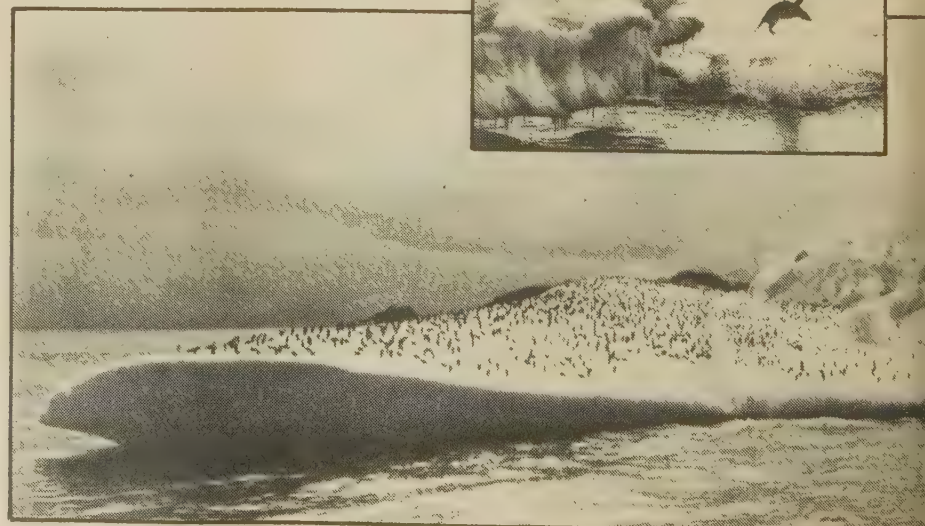
New Times: Perhaps, the setup in Antarctica might serve as a model for a future society in which all mankind and all individuals will keep their word without conflicts, not to speak of wars.

Zotikov: I spent more than a year with the Americans. We worked together sharing our food, joys and disappointments. It is just such conditions that help develop new principles in relations. One of these principles is not to boast of what you yourself have done, but to appreciate what others have achieved. By expressing a high opinion of other people we help improve them in many ways and thus remove tensions from our lives. This idea works on the icebound continent.

Dyurgerov: The new relations and atmosphere of confidence in Antarctica are very fragile and they can easily be broken. Here is a case in point. In the late 1970s Igor Zotikov examined the Ross ice shelf. To do so he drilled a unique 400-metre well and for the first time photographed the lower surface of the shelf where it meets the ocean.

Zotikov: This was possibly just as difficult as, say, taking a photo of the other side of the Moon. In Antarctica everything works differently. The station was U.S. one, and the equipment was Soviet. But the Americans helped deliver and instal it. When we ran out of drilling fluid, it was the New Zealanders who supplied it. Thus, the job was accomplished through joint effort. And again without any papers or receipts. We would have hardly achieved these results if a member of the

This penguin colony, one of many in the Antarctic, is a good example of its unique fauna.



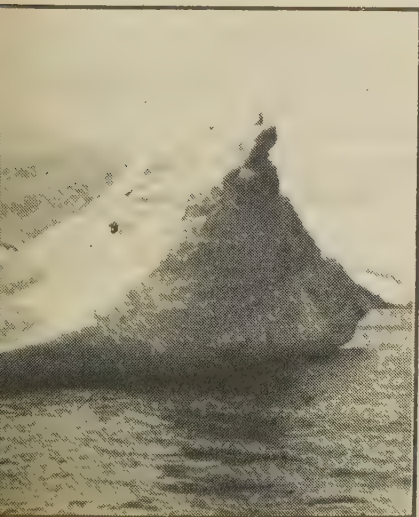
Soviet or U.S. team had been influenced by the cooling of Soviet-U.S. relations at the time.

Bardin: I worked with the Japanese at their Showa station. I watched the inhabitants of a warm country make themselves at home in Antarctica with characteristic diligence. I have worked with Belgian polar explorers at the King Baudouin station. After what seemed an endless snowfall, it was a wonderful underground kingdom to which you could gain access only through an ice tunnel five metres deep. During a night vigil I heard the roofs and walls creaking under the weight of the ice. A Soviet scientist is currently working on a research programme at the Amundsen-Scott station and a U.S. scientist at the Vostok station. An Australian glaciologist is joining a Soviet team in a snow-cat expedition. Hundreds of examples of such cooperation could be cited.

Zotikov: Work in Antarctica is inconceivable without the free exchange of information and mutual assistance. It is a fact that one country or another enjoys a "monopoly" on a certain field of research. Thus, the French study stable isotopes in the ice to establish the kind of climate that prevailed in the region several tens of millennia ago. Another feature which distinguishes relations on the continent is tact. Our U.S. colleagues have been keeping my rock samples in cold storage in Buffalo, New York, over a period of several years. They have not examined them pending my arrival so that we can carry out the tests together. It should be mentioned that much of the work connected with Antarctica is of an international character.

Experience to Be Drawn Upon in the Arctic—and Elsewhere

New Times: Under the terms of the Antarctic Treaty, its text may be amend-



The editors of *New Times* asked Vladimir Kotlyakov, corresponding member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, director of its Institute of Geography and a member of the interdepartmental commission for the exploration of the Arctic and Antarctica under the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, to sum up the round-table discussion. This is what he said:

"It is not easy to explore the icebound continent. However, if scientists from many countries join hands in the effort, if they show friendliness and help one another, the difficulties will be surmounted. Of course, Antarctica will not remain an immutable preserve for all time. Despite all the difficulties, sooner or later people will start to develop the mineral deposits that have been found there. If the work is conducted jointly, in the interests of all countries, Antarctica's unique character will be preserved. The most promising and practicable plan would be to use icebergs as a virtually inexhaustible source of freshwater. It would be fair to say that, technically speaking, the problem today is a formidable one. Therefore, only the cooperative effort of many states will help tackle it. Despite all the political storms that are shaking our planet, Antarctica has remained faithful to the spirit of cooperation that prevails there. In this sense it is a model of new relations in the society of the future for all mankind."

ed or modified at any time. What is your idea of the continent in the future?

Zotikov: As I see it, it will be an international natural reserve belonging to the whole of mankind.

Dyurgerov: Since we do not extract oil, coal or water there, it should be left untouched for our great-grandchildren. They will surely make far better use of this wealth than we.

Bardin: Incidentally, most of our foreign colleagues share this point of view. I maintain that polar explorers owe the success of their international cooperation to the unique character of their interests. Over this 25-year period the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., both in everyday effort and at conferences, have worked side by side. There have been virtually no serious differences between them. One cannot help wishing that this practice could be extended to international politics.

Zotikov: A year ago I was admitted to membership of the New York Explorers Club, a prestigious organization to which well-known scientists, astronauts and explorers belong. One of the club's planned undertakings is an expedition to the De Long Islands in the Arctic. However, I believe that the purpose of the expedition will not be limited merely to the laying of memorial wreathes on the graves of American and Russian polar explorers buried there. It will, probably, lay the foundation for new relations on the northern ice cap. The natural conditions in the Arctic are just as severe as in Antarctica and they call for the

same spirit of cooperation on the part of all nations.

Bardin: During the long winter months people spend together in the harsh conditions of Antarctica they get to know one another and develop mutual trust and confidence which last a lifetime. Over a period of several years I have worked with explorers from many foreign stations. And I can call everyone of them a friend. This is a lesson Antarctica has taught me, an invaluable lesson showing that people from different countries can live and work together. In this sense Antarctica is a prototype for the world of the future, one which the Soviet state is working for today. Many of the goals harassing politicians today have already been achieved in Antarctica. All weapons, except flare guns, are banned there. The spirit of mutual aid, confidence and comradely support prevails. In view of this Antarctica can serve as a model not only to the Arctic, but also to the other continents. It has shown that people can and should live on earth without the threats, sabre-rattling and accusations we see today and which are to be deplored. This idea is not a utopia. Mankind has no alternative to practising the brilliantly simple relations that have triumphed in Antarctica to turn this extremely severe, cold region into the friendliest continent on earth. Antarctica should not remain an isolated case as its example is worth following.

Interviewer: **V. GALIN**

Photos by I. Zotikov, M. Dyurgerov and the National Geographic magazine (U.S.A.)

India is one of the biggest trading partners of the Soviet Union

"A Two-Way Street"

The label looked Russian, but not quite. The type was obviously English, and I had difficulty at first making out a word composed of five Latin letters—three of them common to the Russian and English alphabets, and two supposed to serve as Cyrillic analogues. I read the word syllable by syllable until it finally dawned on me that it designated a popular medicinal preparation, a gift of nature, coveted by many people. Scraped off the walls of karst caves where it accumulates for centuries, this substance (known as "mummy") is believed to possess extraordinary curative properties.

For Health and Beauty

"I hear this medicine is popular in your country," Dr Ashok Burman told me. He planned to sell a few thousand packs to the Soviet Union, hence his ad men's linguistic exercises.

His firm is called Dabur, an acronym for Doktor (the Hindu for "doctor") and the name of its founder. It specializes in medicines, cosmetics and vitamin-enriched foods.

Doctor Burman invited me to one of his factories in the small town of Sahibabad, Uttar Pradesh state.

"Did you have a hard time breaking into the Soviet market?" I asked him.

"The Soviet Union is well known here as one of India's biggest trading partners," Ashok Burman replied. "And a reliable one, too, which is very important for a businessman. So we decided to try our luck, and offered Soviet foreign trade organizations our products in 1981. The samples passed the fault-finding inspection your ex-

perts gave them, and we started doing steady trade with your country. In the 1985-86 fiscal year we sold the Soviet Union 15 million rupees' worth of our products—medicinal preparations, various cosmetics and chemicals."

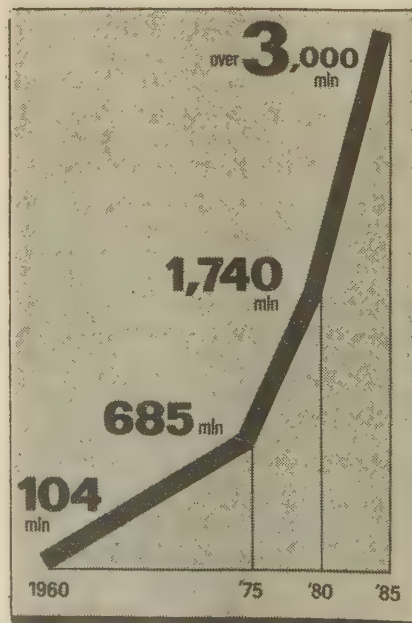
"In your outer office I noticed a map showing the pattern of your export trade, with arrows fanning out from India to the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., Western Europe, the Middle East..."

"We are certainly proud of that, but I must say that a partner as reliable as the Soviet Union is hard to find. Moreover, it is a big buyer. This helps us provide guaranteed employment and make the most of our production potential."

GROWTH OF SOVIET-INDIAN TRADE

in rubles

(statistics provided by the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Foreign Trade)



"Does trade with the U.S.S.R. give you any problems?"

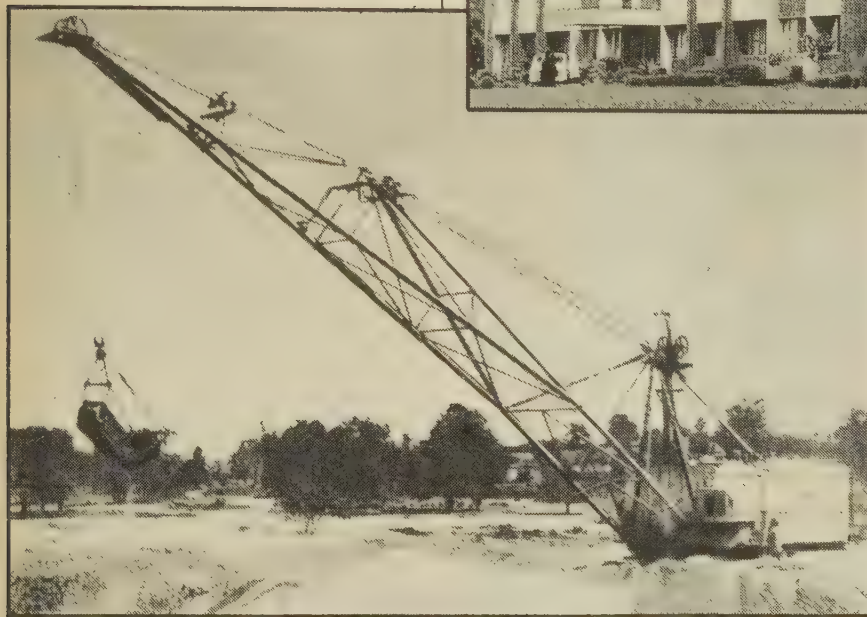
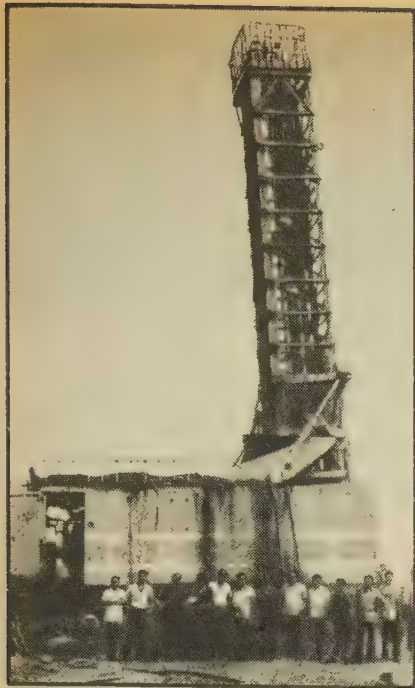
"Not at all. All the accounts are settled in rupees. This not only simplifies business transactions, but makes for stability of trade because it then makes no difference whether the buyer is ready with hard currency. In the coming fiscal year we plan to double our commodity turnover with the Soviet Union. This certainly depends not only on our wishes and potential, but on our Soviet partners as well. I think our hopes stand a good chance of materializing, because, judging from our Soviet partners' comments, they are satisfied with the quality of our products and with our punctual observance of delivery terms."

The factory I visited was built nearly a decade ago which is recent compared with Dabur's 100-year history. Its light air-conditioned shops are fitted with automatic and semi-automatic machines, most of them Indian-made.

A distinguishing feature of Dabur is that it cleverly combines traditional Indian medicine with modern technology. The firm adheres to the principles of folk medicine—all its products are processed from natural raw materials and all sorts of medicinal herbs. Ancient recipes are run through modern computers, and the end product is prepared using the latest in pharmaceutical techniques.

The firm gets its feedstock from allied suppliers under annual contracts. Some of the ingredients are of the firm's own making. Near its Sahibabad factory, for instance, Dabur has a farm growing medicinal plants which go into the making of medicines and lotions, and are added to the canned foods produced by the firm.

The Sahibabad factory employs about a thousand workers, which makes it fairly large by local standards. A lunch at the factory's inexpensive canteen costs a worker roughly a fifth of his daily pay (the lunch break is half an hour). As we completed our tour of the factory, the eight-hour working day came to a close. The workers lined up in the entrance-gate office. Several uniformed men searched them, one by one—a standard anti-theft procedure.



the peoples of India and the Soviet Union."

Steelmaking and Coal Mining Equipment

B. P. Khemka, managing director of Khemka & Co., referred to the business links between our two countries as "a two-way street." His firm, which ranks prominently in the Indian business world, has the exclusive right to sell in India products supplied by the Soviet foreign trade organization Machinoexport.

Khemka went on. "It renders us great help in training skilled personnel. Every three years or so representatives from Soviet manufacturing plants come over to India to offer our technicians basic and advanced training."

Coal India, the leading state coal mining corporation, is perhaps the biggest user of sophisticated industrial equipment exported by the Soviet Union to India through the agency of Machinoexport.

"Our cooperation with the Soviet Union began in 1959 when we



A branch of Dabur, a firm that exports medicines and cosmetics to the Soviet Union.

purchased the first excavators for opencast coal mining," J. P. Bajaj, the chief engineer of the corporation, told me. "At present, the Indian coal industry employs over 200 Soviet-made machines which mine 90 per cent of the solid fuel produced by the opencast method. Soviet equipment has passed the test not only of time, but also of intensive use and of our tropical climate. We are pleased with the functioning of the repair and maintenance system organized by the Soviet side. Therefore we intend to continue to increase our purchases of Soviet equipment. Coal mining is a fast-growing industry in India. By the year 2000 we plan to increase our coal output to 300 million tons a year as against about 130 million tons now. As you see, we are looking ahead...."

The outlook for Soviet-Indian trade is bright. This two-way street is free of the unexpected twists and impasses by which India's trade and economic relations with its Western partners are all too often marked.

L. ZHEGALOV
our own correspondent

Sahibabad—Delhi

"We started cooperating with Machinoexport in 1961. Since then it has supplied through us over 300 sophisticated equipment items of all kinds now used in various spheres of the Indian national economy, specifically, at the steel plants in Bokaro, Bhilai, Visakhapatnam and at the Ranchi engineering works. We also buy Soviet gantry cranes, power shovels, walking excavators and drilling equipment. I should like to make special note of the fact that Soviet machinery is reliable and long-lasting.

"Machinoexport does not confine itself to equipment deliveries," B. P.

Upper left: a Soviet-made drilling rig. A Soviet-made excavator at an opencast coal mine in India.

"As a businessman," I said to Dr Burman, who showed me out of the administration building, "you must be interested in the business aspect of trade with our country above everything else."

"I certainly am, but I do not stop at that. Holding a definite place in the Indian-Soviet trade links, I rejoice in the fact that these links are gaining in strength and scale, because they are part of the many-sided and multiform relations developing for the benefit of

Militarism and the Working Class

Academician BORIS PONOMARYOV

The question of militarism has long engaged the minds of the working class and its progressive representatives. It was repeatedly discussed at the congresses of the Socialist International before World War I. The Basel congress of 1912 adopted a manifesto on the struggle against militarism and war. "Oppose the capitalist world of exploitation and mass murder with the proletarian world of peace and the brotherhood of nations."

All members of the working-class movement today should remember this historic document and appeal, because militarism in our time has grown immeasurably and its danger has increased tenfold. "Modern militarism is the result of capitalism," wrote Lenin. Capitalism uses it as military force for external aggressive action and as an instrument to suppress the economic and political action of the working class and all working people.

The chief danger and harm inherent in militarism lie in the fact that, as a weapon of the aggressive circles of imperialism, it is conducive to new wars and, in our era, to nuclear war. But even in peacetime militarism brings untold damage to the working class and the masses of the people.

A whole system of militarism operates in the major capitalist countries today. Its elements include the vast military machine, the unprecedented arms race, growing military budgets, and the use of much of the national economic and scientific potential for military purposes. Militarism permeates the socio-economic and intellectual life of modern capitalist society. Inherent in militarism are its reliance on military force to resolve all international issues, and unbridled and unrelenting propaganda for war and violence.

All this has a harmful effect on the way the vital economic and social needs of nations are being met. Militarist circles are trying to silence and strangle humanist traditions and, in opposition to these, to stir up and foster chauvinistic reactionary sentiments. Today militarism is the main weapon imperialism uses in its struggle against socialism and the countries which have proclaimed their national independence. It is the source of military menace to all of peace-loving mankind. Progressive representatives of the workers' and anti-war movements

consider it their duty to expose the truth about militarism.

The military-industrial complexes have been the new face of militarism since the second world war. They have assumed great power and scale in the United States. The military-industrial complex is a combination of major arms manufacturing monopolies, top military personnel, leaders of state and legislative bodies. It is symptomatic that for-



Demonstration in New York against "star wars."

mer U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower warned the country of the influence of the military-industrial complex as long ago as 1961. He said that the "conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence—economic, political, even spiritual—is felt in every city, every state house, every office of federal government."

This is the true state of affairs. The military-industrial complex is the principal instrument of the arms race and goes a long way towards determining government policies. Of course, a major factor in all this is the colossal profits that flow into the pockets of monopolies and the military.

The recent Reykjavik meeting highlighted this fact. The American side prevented a historic agreement being reached between the U.S.S.R. and the

U.S. on cutting and eliminating nuclear weapons by refusing to abandon its Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI). As Mikhail Gorbachev stressed on Soviet television on October 14, the main reason the American delegation took such a stand is that the leadership of that great country is too dependent on the military-industrial complex, on the monopoly groups which have turned the race in nuclear and other arms into a business, a means of gaining profits, the goal of their existence and the meaning of their activities.

A panoply of techniques and resources is committed to the militarization of the public consciousness, from "militarized toys" and animated cartoons for children to the use of the whole arsenal of the mass media, culture and entertainment for adults.

This militaristic brainwashing covers itself by using slogans about "protecting democracy," contending that it is necessary to arm in order to avoid war. This gives added relevance to Karl Marx's warning: "Of all the dogmas of the hypocritical policies of our time, none has caused more calamities than the dogma which says: 'if you want peace, prepare for war.'"

The foreign policy of imperialist states is also permeated with militarism. Instead of fostering civilized relations worthy of humanity in the 20th century, the relations of "the nuclear stick" are being imposed, relations that are unacceptable to contemporary society and are fraught with the threat of its destruction.

The militarist chiefs are not only stockpiling arms for the future, but are practising their use in modern conditions by conducting large-scale military exercises, involving land, naval and air forces in the West and the Far East. Such exercises are becoming ever more frequent and provide a clear indication that the imperialists are preparing for war. This gives the working-class movement cause for thought and alarm. All too often military exercises are used to bring crude pressure to bear on other countries in order to subjugate them. Lebanon, Libya, Nicaragua and others are targets of such policies.

Since 1945 American imperialism, in accordance with its militaristic strategy, has spawned numerous military bases all over the world. In 1986 the U.S. has 1,500 such bases and other military installations in the territories of 32 states, 360 of these being major bases and installations. More than half a million American soldiers are stationed there.

The harmful effect of militarism is also manifest in vast unproductive military spending, which is money deducted from the national wealth created by wage- and salary-earners. The arms being produced do not serve to meet

the demands of ordinary living and, furthermore, threaten to damage and destroy a significant proportion of the national wealth.

According to U.N. data, the arms race has consumed \$12 trillion over the last four decades. This is three times the material losses all the countries in the world sustained as a result of the two world wars. In the last five years military output has been growing much faster than civilian production worldwide. In the U.S.—the main capitalist country spearheading the arms race—the average annual growth rate of military spending is two to three times greater than that of the gross national product. And the rate continues to increase.

The corporations in the U.S. and other NATO countries profit from the arms race. They have combined to form a sinister transnational alliance of "death merchants." They are becoming ever more closely identified with governments, imposing higher military budgets, expanding arms exports and drawing more and more countries into the arms race. U.S. military spending has increased from \$83 billion in 1945 to \$134 billion in 1980, exceeding \$300 billion in 1986. Other countries—the F.R.G., Britain, Italy and France—are increasing their spending on arms and the maintenance of armies. Thanks to imperialism, mankind has reached a crucial point beyond which developments could get out of control.

Existing nuclear weapon stocks are capable of destroying all life on earth many times over. At least 50,000 nuclear warheads have been accumulated. Western Europe is saturated with nuclear weapons.

NATO forces in Europe have weapons whose destructive capacity makes them comparable to low-yield nuclear weapons (vacuum, cluster, napalm and others). The Bundeswehr has almost 1,200 missiles, planes, and guns capable of carrying nuclear weapons. The last remaining restrictions on the development and manufacture of heavy weapons by the F.R.G. have been lifted.

Two or three years ago the U.S. developed plans for the militarization of outer space, the "star wars" programme. If carried through, these plans

would greatly increase the danger of nuclear war.

In the late 1970s, the NATO Defence Planning Committee adopted a long-term armaments programme for the 1980s, which envisages the buildup and modernization of all branches of the armed forces in Europe. Subsequently a NATO Council session took a decision to deploy 572 new American medium-range nuclear missiles (Pershing 2) and land-based cruise missiles in West European countries.

The sad truth is that the manufacture of new weapons of mass destruction in NATO countries continues nonstop. In the U.S. alone, more than 6.5 million people serve in the army, various military agencies and the arms manufacturing industry.

The arms race aggravates unemployment because vast spending on arms makes inroads into civilian production with thousands and thousands of workers being made redundant. Unemployment in the U.S. now stands at 8.5 million or, according to the more reliable trade union figures, at about 15 million. Britain and France each have 3 million unemployed and the F.R.G. about 3 million.

To finance the growing military budget, governments are increasing taxes and curtailing many social programmes. The first to suffer are the poor.

According to American economists, while in 1950 every U.S. worker worked two hours every day to cover taxes,

today the figure is four hours. Taxes levied on the working people in the U.S. have increased by almost 50 per cent over the last 35 years.

Because arms spending consumes colossal resources, the governments of capitalist countries have in recent years cut social spending—unemployment benefit, allowances to large families, allocations for health and education services.

Young people in particular are gravely affected by the onslaught of capitalist governments on living standards.

The only justification for this unprecedented spending on arms, including nuclear arms, is the so-called "Soviet military threat." But none of the militarist leaders have provided any proof of this. The fact remains that the Soviet Union is calling persistently for cuts in all weaponry, first and foremost nuclear, including Soviet weapons. General Secretary of the CC CPSU Mikhail Gorbachev has advanced a large-scale programme for arms cuts, up to the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. It is in effect a programme for the salvation of mankind.

It includes the following proposals submitted by the U.S.S.R. and its allies.

1. An end to nuclear testing. The Soviet Union has introduced a unilateral

The dramatic fate of this unemployed Italian is typical of the country's 2.5 million jobless.



moratorium on nuclear explosions and proposed immediate talks on a complete ban on nuclear tests.

2. Total abolition of nuclear weapons before the end of the century provided no space strike weapons (SDI) are created.

3. The abolition of Soviet and American medium-range missiles in Europe.

4. Destruction of chemical weapons and the industrial base for their manufacture before the end of the century.

5. Reduction of troops and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

6. International cooperation in the use of outer space for peaceful purposes for the good of the whole of humanity.

7. Reliable verification of disarmament at all stages with the use of both national facilities and international procedures, including on-site inspection.

8. Creating a comprehensive international security system covering the military, political, economic and humanitarian fields.

All these initiatives meet the interests of all peoples, particularly the working class. Today the working class is the main force in the economy, in the manufacture of all products necessary for society. Its numbers are now greater than ever in history—about 700 million people. This testifies to the immense objective potential of the working class to oppose militarism, the arms race, and the sinister business of preparation for nuclear war.

The working class, the world of labour, cannot afford to surrender its destiny and the destiny of the human race to the capitalist class and its states, which are pushing the world towards war.

The scientific and technological revolution is bringing about changes in the working class as its ranks are being joined by people of non-proletarian origin. Yet the working class remains the main productive force in society, and its daily work fosters its spirit of collectivism and tempers it in the constant struggle for its vital interests. This makes it a powerful force in modern society. But militarism employs workers in arms manufacture.

For many decades and even centuries

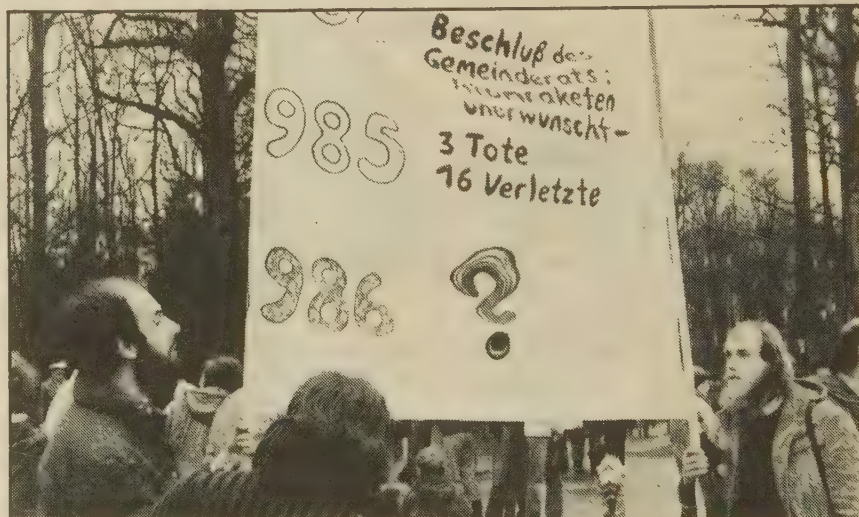
the working class has been upholding its class interests and the ideas of socialism. In this nuclear age, history has imposed on the working class the historic mission to protect itself and all mankind from murderous wars and nuclear destruction. Success in the struggle against war greatly depends on concerted efforts by all people of good will, especially the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, on the one hand, and professionals, especially doctors, teachers, engineers and technicians, on the other.

Objective conditions for this exist. The said strata of the population also suffer from the arms race and military spending, which brings higher taxes,

important role to play. Many of them are already active in the peace movement.

The recent World Trade Union congress convened by WFTU was attended by many trade unionists who are not members of the host organization. Its composition and the resolutions it adopted make this congress a good example of united effort in the struggle against the military and nuclear threat, irrespective of differences in political programmes and ideologies. They all share the great slogan of uniting all efforts to prevent nuclear war and save mankind from destruction.

Today there are about 400 million trade union members. As a Russian



inflation, unemployment, and bankruptcies among farmers.

There exist forces that are opposing and counteracting the war menace and the arms buildup. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are waging a great historic battle for peace and the security of nations. The pooling of efforts by the working class and the working people in the non-socialist world with the efforts of the socialist countries would create a powerful obstacle in the way of preparations for war.

Anti-war and anti-nuclear sentiments and actions are growing all over the world. Thousands of people are demonstrating against the militaristic policies of the forces of aggression. Thousands of letters are sent to the White House demanding an end to nuclear testing and a freeze on armaments.

The trade unions, of course, have an

F.R.G. peace supporters blocking the U.S. Heilbronn base where Pershings are deployed.

TASS photos

proverb has it, if they all breathe in at once, a storm will follow.

Western businessmen, who are not involved in arms manufacture, are becoming increasingly active. The truth about the dire consequences of atomic war is being brought home to everyone in the non-socialist world too, including members of parliament and of the U.S. Congress. The natural instinct for self-preservation is making itself felt in all social strata.

More and more often realistic people in the West speak up against the aggressive actions of the ruling elite. The U.S. House of Representatives has passed a resolution demanding a ban on nuclear tests and has cut, if only marginally, the military budget for 1987.

An important document on confidence and security-building measures in Europe has emerged from Stockholm. The Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions has been hailed by the broadest masses of the people, and the parliaments and governments of many countries. A convention on nuclear energy safety has been signed in Vienna. The programme to strengthen peace and security in Asia and the Pacific region proposed by Comrade Gorbachev in Vladivostok has had positive response. Anti-war and anti-nuclear resolutions adopted at the non-aligned conference in Harare expressed the will of hundreds of millions of people. And yet the U.S. continues to carry out nuclear tests in Nevada, and NATO is holding military exercises on land, at sea, and in the air.

Today it is important to identify and use every opportunity for practical action by various contingents of the working class and its friends in defence of peace.

It is necessary that the broad masses of workers and the leaders of the workers' movement, and all people of good will, should become aware of the danger of nuclear war threatening to destroy mankind.

It is very important to achieve better organization in order to translate resolutions and sound declarations into concrete action for peace and universal security, to ensure united action with all the forces of peace, pursue the common policy of counteracting militarism and its aggressive course step by step wherever there are wage-earners. It is necessary to achieve a drastic cut in military spending and use the resources released for social needs without delay.

Objectively, the forces and opportunities of the working class to struggle against the danger of war exist. And they are considerable. The task now is to realize their potential.

The U.S.S.R. is firmly committed to a policy of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. This offers ample opportunities for the working class of any country to make its own vital contribution to the cause of peace and universal security.

Breathing New Life into an Old Craft

The magic world of Czech glass

From our special correspondent
VLADIMIR ZHITOMIRSKY

"Can no one do it?" There was a note of despair in the French professor's voice. He had asked this question in his own country and abroad, and invariably the reply had been a flat "No" or a curt "impossible." He knew it was no simple task. No one had ever managed to fashion molten glass into a spherical construction one metre across. The professor visualized the object in every detail, but he could not touch his dream and hold it in his hands.

The same question was put to Josef Dynda. He had heard about the artist's fantastic project and had even, in a spare moment, given some thought to how such a huge chunk of boiling glass could be handled. So the question did not exactly surprise Josef. "Let's give it a try," he said.

He relied on his more than 30 years' experience in the trade. Josef knew how incredibly difficult every movement would be—when he removed the blowing pipe from the furnace with its huge piece of molten glass and when, straining his lungs, he blew the initial form and when, together with his assistant, he started working the mass into shape with the help of wooden dippers. It was this final stage that worried him most. He would stand on a platform raised half a metre above the floor holding the blowing pipe vertically, with the heavy dollop of glass on its lower end. He was a man of strong physique, had competed in wrestling matches for ten years. But this time he would have to think of some special device. The solution came to him during the sleepless night before the day when he would have to wrestle with the risky project. That day he had his

assistant hold him by the waist to prevent the heated mass of glass dragging him down. In the end, his technique, his ambition and his pride in his craft (he worked for the Moser firm) did the trick. Dynda was rewarded by seeing his project take the shape of a 22-kg glass sphere.

Josef Dynda is a wizard at his craft. He is one of the best team leaders at the Moser glass factory in Karlovy Vary. But he is not a lone maestro. The Moser firm owes its strong positions in the world market to its rich traditions, its constant concern for improving the skills and encouraging creative thinking of the glassmakers.

Moser will be 130 years old next year. But the history of Czech glass goes much farther back. Archeological excavations have revealed glass furnaces dating back to the ninth century. The area of present-day Czechoslovakia had an abundance of both fuel and raw materials for glassmaking. The methods and the art of glassblowing were constantly improved. In the Middle Ages wealthy homes in Europe owned elegant goblets of greenish Czech glass with tiny impregnations. Later stained glass for Gothic churches became famous: sections of stained glass were joined by lead strips with an overlaid design in black.

There exist 16th-century goblets with enamel decorated with figures and elaborate patterns and coats of arms. Articles of cut glass made at that time, a tribute to consummate technique and taste, still preserve their lustre and transparency. Old chalices, bowls, decorative vials, and goblets are on display at the glassware museum in

Novy Bor, a town in Northern Czechia.

We see double-walled baroque goblets and cups, which are two vessels fitting perfectly one into the other with a gold or silver pattern of painted or corrugated tinfoil between the two. The Empire style is represented by portraits cut on glass. Old white glass resembling porcelain is covered with patterns in black or other colours, or in gold. Black and red glass imitative of precious stones bears the name of Friedrich Egermann, a famous Northern Czech artisan, who invented highly resistant yellow and red mordants applied on the surface.

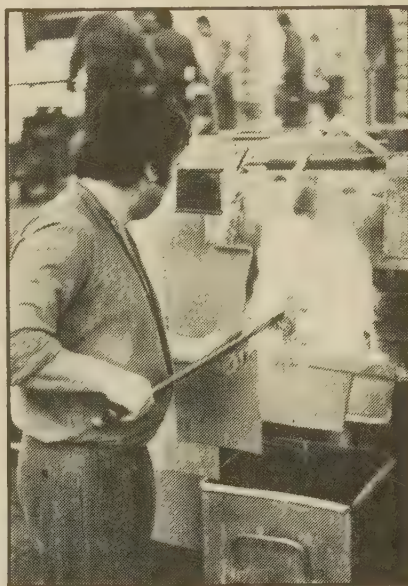
Impressive is stained glass doubled in white enamel. Polishing techniques were used to provide a colour grounding with a white painted surface. At the turn of the century the modern style ousted the elaborate Empire and baroque styles. The prevalent lines became harsh. Design became increasingly important in glassmaking. A new profession emerged—glass designer. Among the pioneers of glass design was Ludvika Smrckova.

"I Consider Myself Happy"

The woman who is now called "the first lady of Czech glassmaking" began her career at the dawn of the century. When her father, a railwayman, showed the unusual drawings done by his three-year-old daughter to an art teacher of his acquaintance, the latter said: "Let the child draw the way she likes. She has a bent for art." The parents treated her hobby with respect. Gradually the hobby grew into a passion. The girl was particularly interested in glassware. Whenever she came to visit relatives she would start washing and wiping all the glassware.

After finishing school in her native Kladno, Ludvika applied for admission

to the Prague Academy of Applied Arts. She was very nervous during the admission exams, especially when she was asked to design a composition on the theme "a girl herding geese." She was admitted on the spot. Almost two decades later the professor who had examined her would confess to Smrckova at the opening of her exhibition that he had kept the "shepherd girl" all these years.



By the oven.

The artist has fond memories of her years at the art school. There was an element of luck in her career. The Academy was to take part in a decorative arts exhibition in Paris and Ludvika's class was charged with preparing glass exhibits. This introduced her to a new world. The material held tremendous potential. It refracted light, was highly malleable, and was an ideal medium for the most fantastic designs. Smrckova remembers that she invented new forms and lines even in her sleep.

Together with the Czechoslovak journalist Kocvarova I visited the famous artist at home. Her flat is full of vases of every size, cups, bowls, dishes, candlesticks and other objects all made

of glass and all designed by our hostess. The walls are hung with her paintings and drawings. In a recessed balcony with a view of the Vltava River I noticed an easel. The artist has an energetic manner of speaking. Her face lights up as she recalls her first success in Paris. A vase of polished glass she had designed won a prize.

Since that memorable year of 1925 she could not imagine herself outside the magic world of glass, although she could not always devote herself entirely to it. She had to teach drawing to make a living. She cut down on sleep to think of new designs of glassware. Vacations were the happiest time for her. She spent all her days at the glass factory. Here she was translating her designs into material shape amid the hot furnaces, working together with glassblowers for whom she has always had the deepest respect. In 1937 her polished glass won a Grand Prix at an international exhibition of applied art in Paris.

This award, Smrckova told us, earned her highly tempting offers from three foreign firms specializing in glassware. But the idea of living and working abroad did not appeal to her. "I wanted to be a glass designer, but a Czech glass designer. I wanted to work for my people and develop its national traditions. What is more gratifying for an artist than to be able to beautify people's lives with inexpensive but tasteful objects?"

She was probably the first Czech glass designer to think along these lines. She was the first artist to cooperate directly and actively with industry. And she is to date the only woman glass designer to hold the supreme honorary title of People's Artist of Czechoslovakia.

"I have never paid attention to art critics," she says gaily. "There is no

pleasing them. For instance, they were very critical of my best set of wine-glasses because the stems were too thick. Now they make stems even thicker." She does not conceal her pride when she tells us that twelve of her vases stand in a hall in the presidential palace. All in all, museums and galleries contain five thousand of her works, both in sketches and in the shape of finished objects. She has more than 50 full sets of glass tableware to her credit.

"I consider myself happy," says "the first lady" after a pause. Her idea of happiness includes concern for the happiness of others. Smrckova makes a new glass design featuring a rose for every anniversary of Czechoslovakia's tragedy known far beyond her country—the destruction of the town of Lidice and massacre of its inhabitants by the nazis. This is her tribute to the fighters against fascism. "By the same token, this is my contribution to promoting peace," the artist says firmly.

Pavel Hlava's Motif

He comments on universal human problems in forms that are unusual and startling. His thoughts, as it were, move in two directions at once. Or is it one and the same direction? We put this question to Pavel Hlava, Merited Artist of Czechoslovakia, in his studio surrounded by his glass sculptures and compositions.

"People talk about abstractions, about naturalism and realism in art," says Hlava. "In my opinion, the main thing is whether the artist has put his heart and mind into his work. The most dangerous thing is formalism (expressed either in abstract or, sometimes, in the realistic manner), lack of spirituality and cold calculation. What matters is the individuality of the artist and his perception of the world. All this is present in the applied arts. I work in different applied arts, including both the decorative and the so-called 'everyday' art. This area has its own problems and specific challenges. Take, for instance, the relationship

between the artist, the craftsman and the glassblower. Contemplating his future work, a sculptor in glass or a designer must take into account the technological possibilities of the medium."

"So, technology does impose certain constraints on art?" Hlava replies that the artist has to study for years what is and what is not technically feasible. His studies are practical as well as theoretical. Sometimes he comes up with technical innovations of his own. Or take another problem: the relationship between mass-produced and unique objects. Clearly, a unique work is the antipode of mass production. And yet they do have something in common. For instance, good taste and educational impact. Mass-produced glassware, notably, tableware, should by no means encourage bad taste. A plate, cup or vase have aesthetic value and help to foster good taste, says the artist.

What does he think of the relationship between manual and automated production? This question was prompted by our visits to the factories in Karlovy Vary and Novy Bor where we had seen glassblowers side by side with assembly-line production of household glassware.

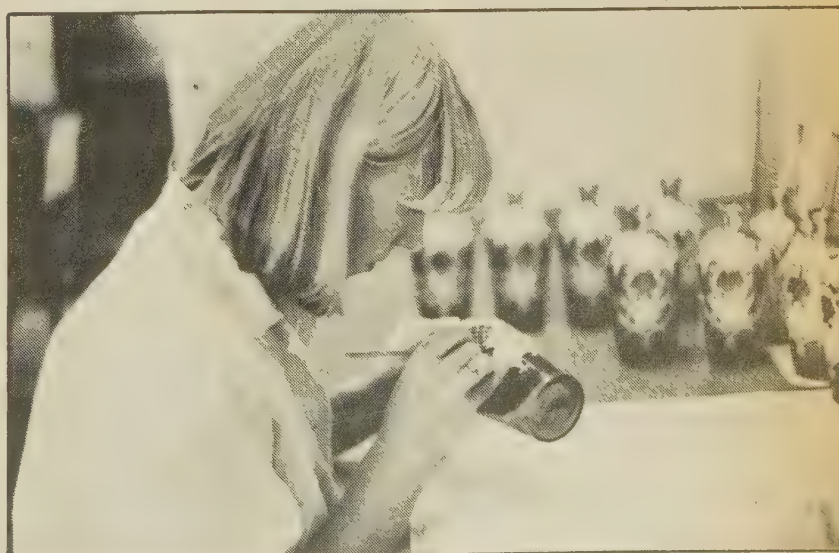
"Mass production uses handwork as its model, as a point of departure," says Hlava. "The basic principles of work are similar. But there are some differences. The machine can of

course imitate a drawing or an etching. But it cannot imitate the craftsman's individuality. As of today, the machine cannot match the level of manual production. Pressed cut glass is a relevant example. I am aware that some people find such articles acceptable. To me, they're fakes. Of course, we face the challenge of meeting mass demand for tasteful household objects. I think the solution lies in making manual labour easier and more productive. That's one thing. And on the other hand, we must improve automatic production. Technological progress, sound organization of production and observance of aesthetic standards would bring the two together."

Why did Pavel Hlava choose glass as his medium? As far as I know, he started out as a "pure" sculptor. Besides, glass is fragile and shortlived.

"Yes, the material is fragile," he replied. "But it is transparent and optical, i.e., it refracts light. And this greatly increases the artist's range." Hlava gets up and invites us to take a closer look at his amazing compositions glowing with all the colours of the rainbow. He lifts one object and turns it slightly. The ray of light coming through a studio window changes the combination of the colours. The artist turns the object again and the effect works again. All these shapes, the play of shades, all these quests, stresses the sculptor, must be intimately linked

Gilding glass.



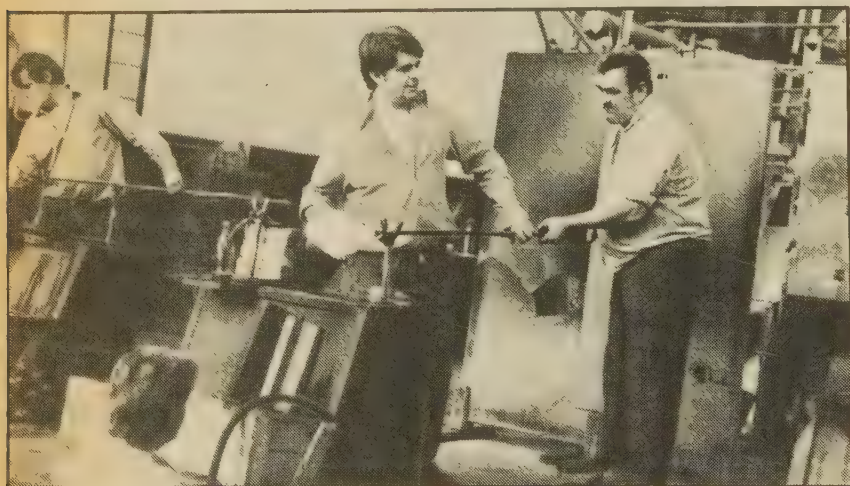
with the main message the author tries to convey.

Hlava's own main theme is the "man-nature-civilization" triad. "I have tried to reflect my time, the end of the 20th century, with all its problems," says the sculptor in conclusion. "Works of art endure. And from them our descendants will know how we lived. They will also judge us from the shape in which we leave nature. Preserving nature is a great challenge for any honest artist."

Laurels for Professor Libensky

In the doorway of Professor Stanislav Libensky's studio I bumped into two

students into the secrets of handling glass. He has been on long lecture tours abroad, including the United States. Incidentally, Czech objects, including those made by young artists, have been exhibited in America, Japan and in just about every European country. And yet some people have the gall to say that Czechoslovak glassmakers are "stewing in their own juice," that they do not have the benefit of "vital contacts" with their foreign colleagues. Some American representatives at a recent forum of cultural workers held in Budapest made that allegation. What was behind this? Ignorance or rank prejudice? Or a desire to discredit the status of an artist in a socialist country? Professor



people talking English. One of them was leaving. The other remained. This was the famous artist who teaches at the Prague Academy of Applied Arts. "My caller was an American professor, a specialist in glass design from Ohio," explained my host. Of short build, middle-aged, Libensky exudes charm, humour and tremendous spirit. "I have a lot of foreign students at my school. They come from the U.S., Britain and Bulgaria. I've had some students from the U.S.S.R., too. I insist that they learn Czech, even though I speak several foreign languages. If you come to study our glass you might as well learn all the intricacies of our language," he laughs.

Our conversation quickly turned to international exchanges. The professor does not only initiate his Prague

Glassblowers.

Libensky took the floor to refute the allegations.

He mentioned the representative international symposiums in Novy Bor attended by the cream of the world's glass artists. "These symposiums offer every opportunity for free exchange of ideas and debates. Here, arguments can be proved or disproved not only theoretically but practically—you only have to go to the famous Novy Bor factory."

"We generously share our experience, traditions, production setup and training system with our foreign colleagues," said the professor. "But we also follow what is taking place abroad."

Surely he must have some profes-

sional secrets? "Certainly," the professor's eyes peer slyly from behind thick lenses. "But there is little dividend to be gained from blind copying of methods. We aren't standing still."

The very existence of the Prague Academy of Applied Arts is a guarantee of further advance. There are no such schools in the West. It trains designers, those who execute the designs, and makers of monumental glass articles. At present 22 students are majoring in glassware. The most gifted ones are selected for enrolment. This is not easy because there are 20-30 contenders for every vacancy.

Our conversation turns to the export-oriented character of glass production in Czechoslovakia. The professor says that over 90 per cent of all the articles go abroad. Isn't there a danger of the manufacturers becoming dependent on the tastes of their clients? "No, this is not the case," he says. "The agencies which sign the contracts have their own councils." The fact that one such council is headed by Pavel Hlava and another by Stanislav Libensky gives you an idea of the standard of these councils.

Every citizen of Prague is familiar with the work of Stanislav Libensky. His monumental works (most of which have been made in collaboration with his wife, Jaroslava Brichtova) are featured prominently in many buildings. Over the past few years they have graced the front of the new building of the Prague National Theatre. Now his work is being enjoyed by commuters at the Prague Station in the Moscow Underground. The station has national-style decorations using a good deal of Czech glass.

* * *

Czechoslovak television ran a 13-part serial "The Sons and Daughters of Jacob the Glassmaker" telling the story of several generations of glassblowers and spanning about 60 years. Asked why he chose glassblowers to tell the story of the working-class movement in the country, screenwriter Jaroslav Dietl replied: "Because it is a man's craft, it is very beautiful, very old, and very Czech."

Prague—Moscow

Appeal from Vancouver

Vancouver, Canada, was recently the venue for the first international trade union conference of women workers in the arts. Attending this forum held under the auspices of the International Federation of Actors (IFA)—an influential progressive international organization of art workers' unions—were delegations from 26 trade unions from 19 countries in Europe, Asia and North and South America, including the Soviet Union.

Below Inna Naumenko, vice-president of the IFA and chairman of the Soviet Cultural Workers' Union, who led the Soviet delegation to the conference, shares her impressions of the forum and its results with our correspondent.

Q. What prompted the convening of the conference? What was its agenda?

The position of women workers in the arts has been high on the priority list of the International Federation of Actors and its affiliated organizations for many years. It is no secret that in the West, as distinct from the socialist countries, the position of women engaged in the sphere of art and other creative fields leaves much to be desired both in socio-economic and creative terms. The

child care leave and, finally, to a temporary disability allowance. Not so in Canada; women workers in the arts are deprived of all these benefits on various formal pretexts. The record in most advanced capitalist countries is similar. Take pensions. If the trade unions had not assumed responsibility for these by creating retirement funds for art workers—in most cases from contributions by union members—there would have been no special funds, no pension facilities



Anti-Sovieteers have failed to prevent the magnificent Moiseyev dancers from once more delighting American audiences.

Photo from Time (U.S.A.)

aim of this conference was to specify the tasks facing national trade unions and disseminate their experience of dealing with acute problems.

Take, for example, employment. According to American trade union data, unemployment among actors in the U.S. stands at 60-70 per cent. Social security is another example. We in this country take it for granted that an actress, like any other working woman, is entitled to paid maternity leave, followed by

for workers in the arts in most Western countries.

Studies conducted by our Canadian and French colleagues have revealed that actresses are on average paid 25 per cent less than their male colleagues for an equal amount of work. This speaks volumes about the way the principle of equal pay for equal work is implemented. Insulting women's dignity is a common phenomenon, with the wave of violence and pornography

that is sweeping Western cinema and TV screens.

All these problems were high on the conference's agenda.

Q. Every year Vancouver is the scene of one of the biggest peace marches. This makes the holding of the conference of women workers in the arts in Vancouver in this International Year of Peace doubly symbolic. What place did the struggle for peace and against the arms race occupy at the conference?

Yes, Vancouver is famous for its anti-war traditions. Like all of Canada, it has active branches of the international organization of people in the arts for nuclear disarmament. The new major Soviet peace initiatives were hailed at the conference. To my mind, it was a logical expression of the desire for peace on the part of all the participants and, if you like, all members of the IFA, that we unanimously decided to send the U.N. Secretary-General a programme resolution of the latest IFA congress, which sets down the federation's stance on the struggle for peace and international cooperation and against the arms race. The act of banditry against the Moiseyev company during its tour of the United States caused indignation among the participants. I must express our sincere appreciation to the American colleagues who raised this question at our forum.

Q. Finally, could you say a few words about the results of the Vancouver meeting?

The conference adopted a number of recommendations which it presented to the IFA Executive. We have yet to study them in more detail, but we can already say that some of them merit the closest attention and support. For example, the proposal to set up a standing commission on the position of women workers in the arts within our federation, and the appeal to the International Theatre Institute to organize an international best actress competition. The principal result of the Vancouver conference is that in the present complex world situation we have been able to come together to address ourselves to common problems and contribute our share to the great cause of promoting mutual understanding.

A recent issue of your magazine reported on the withdrawal of six Soviet regiments from Afghanistan. I now read in the papers that more Soviet troops have been sent to Afghanistan to replace them. Why is your magazine, along with other Soviet media, misleading the world public!

John JACKSON
Washington, U.S.A.



Our staff writer
**LEONID
MIRONOV**
replies:

I too am familiar with the Western media's insinuations about the six Soviet regiments. However, the conclusions I have drawn are very different.

It should be remembered that it was U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger who directed the slanderous campaign to cast aspersions on the U.S.S.R.'s constructive action, carried out in coordination with the Afghan government. On the eve of the Soviet regiments' return home, he told a press conference that the U.S.S.R. had allegedly sent additional units to Afghanistan a few weeks before so as to leave the numerical strength of the limited Soviet contingent unchanged. Peter Martinez, a spokesman for the U.S. State Department, went so far as to allege the other day that the six regiments had never left Afghanistan at all.

And now let us turn to facts and eyewitness accounts. The Soviet regiments' withdrawal ceremony was attended, at the invitation of the Afghan government, by over 100 foreign newsmen, many of whom represented U.S. papers and television companies. Together with Steven Strasser of Newsweek, Carol Williams of Associated Press, Peter Arnett, Robert Turner and Stephen

Horst of the CNN and NBC television companies and others, we witnessed the Soviet regiments leave Kabul, Shindand and Kunduz. We saw tanks through clouds of rose petals. Peasants wreathed them with garlands of wheat-ears, and girls presented them with embroidered scarves. In Kunduz we saw an Afghan lad holding a placard which said: "Thanks, Ivan! We shall never forget you!" A catch phrase current in Afghanistan—"We have met as friends, we shall part as brothers"—assumed special meaning during the send-off.

This was indeed the case, but I cannot vouch, of course, for the authenticity of all my American colleagues' reports on the event.

Here is another significant detail. Sergeant Radzhabali Nabiyeu of Uzbekistan gave me a lift in his tank from Shindand to the Soviet-Afghan border. His services to the friendly country had brought him the Afghan order For Valour. Later he was demobilized and went back to his collective farm sixty kilometres from Tashkent, where his mother, father, five sisters, three brothers and all his fellow villagers gave him a tremendous welcome. Mr Martinez asserts that no Soviet regiments have actually left Afghanistan; well, Radzhabali Nabiyeu will be rather surprised to learn that he is somewhere near Shindand instead of at home.

Bringing home some Soviet troops has become possible at the present juncture. The Afghan armed forces have gained sufficient combat experience in eliminating counterrevolutionary gangs. At present they are carrying out combat operations of an increasingly offensive character on their own. Large armed bands have been smashed and their bases

TAKING UP A POINT

destroyed in a number of provinces.

The Afghan leaders admit, nevertheless, that the armed counterrevolution has not yet been suppressed, and that it is persisting in its criminal activities. Imperialist quarters and the region's reactionaries are out to check the process of normalization, stepping up hostile action against Afghanistan. They are boosting military and financial aid to counterrevolutionary organizations, and fanning anti-Afghan and anti-Soviet hysteria. The fabrications that have now appeared are fresh evidence of this.

Instead of reacting to this gesture by at least restricting U.S. interference in Afghanistan's affairs, the Reagan Administration is now doing its utmost to play down the importance of withdrawing a part of the limited Soviet troop contingent.

And now one final point: the Soviet Union has invariably insisted on a political settlement in Afghanistan and sought to give a fresh impulse to it. We presume that those who are organizing and carrying out the armed intervention in Afghanistan will duly appreciate the constructive step of the U.S.S.R. and give it its due. This step ought to be answered by ending outside interference in the affairs of Afghanistan. All Soviet troops will be withdrawn from Afghanistan on condition that the aggression against the republic is stopped and never resumed.

However, all those who encourage and finance the undeclared war against Afghanistan and allow it to be fought from their territory should bear in mind that if the intervention continues, the U.S.S.R. will not leave its neighbour in the lurch.

This is our position.

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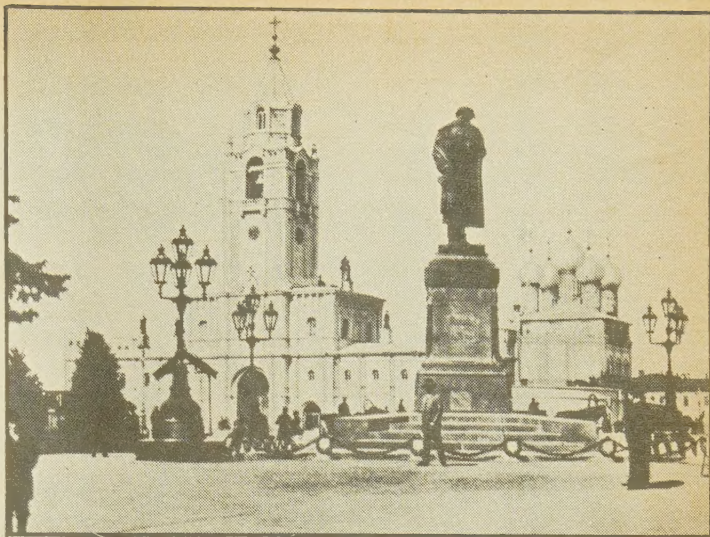
Daniele Tinelli's Moscow

Moscow old and new. Look behind the high-rise buildings on Kalinin Avenue and you will see attractive old-world mansions. Step aside a little from Gorky Street and you find yourself in narrow alleys where you come across buildings with signs saying: "In this house at the end of the 18th century lived..." The epochs of Pushkin, Tolstoy and Gorky intertwine.

An idea of what Moscow was like in bygone days can be gleaned from literature, from the writings of contemporaries and from old photographs.

In 1865 an Italian art photographer named Daniele Tinelli came to Moscow, fell in love with the city and stayed there for nearly 40 years. Throughout these years Tinelli photographed Moscow—its everyday life, its spirit, its beauty. His numerous photos could serve as illustrations to the books about Moscow of the famous Vladimir Gilyarovsky, author of the unforgettable sketches of the city he loved so well—the faces of the inhabitants, the quiet back streets, the work and everyday life of the people. Last year there was an exhibition of Tinelli's photographs in Milan and Rome, after which his descendants Elena Gerosa Tinelli and Carlo Tinelli presented the photographs to the Soviet Union.

The pictures take us back to last-century Moscow. The Moscow whose atmosphere we are now trying so hard to preserve.



The Pushkin monument
originally stood
opposite Strastnoy
Monastery.



Tradesmen's row.

The Kremlin and the
Large Kamenny Bridge
as Tinelli saw them.





A fragment of the "U.N. Session" diptych.



INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE
PHOTO AND
GRAPHICS CONTEST

Drawing by
Svetlana
SHCHERBININA
and Leonid
POLISHCHUK
(U.S.S.R.)